

Memorandum

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SOME
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF
GUINEA,

Its Situation, Produce and the general Disposition of its INHABITANTS.

WITH

An inquiry into the Rise and Progress of the
SLAVE-TRADE, its Nature and lamentable Effects.

ALSO

A Re-publication of the Sentiments of several
Authors of Note, on this interesting
Subject; particularly of a Treatise, by GRANVILLE
SHEPHERD.

By ANTHONY JENKINS.

Acts xvii. 24, 26. God that made the world, made of one Blood all Nations of Mankind, that dwell on the Face of the Earth, and hath determined the Bounds of their Habitation.

Eccles. viii. 11. Because Sentence against the wicked is not executed speedily, therefore the Heart of the Son of Man is fully set in them to do Evil.

Deut. xxxii. 24. Is not this laid up in Store, reserved up among my Treasure, To be brought forth, and to be sown, and to sow, their Seed will rise to the Harvest, for the Day of their Calamity is at Hand, and they shall come upon them as a Flood.

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P. 6. For four or five thousand miles.
res. three or four thousand.

INTRODUCTION.

THE slavery of the Negroes having, of late, drawn the attention of many serious minded people; several tracts have been published setting forth its inconsistency with every christian and moral virtue, which its hoped will have weight with the judicious; especially at a time when the liberties of mankind are become so much the subject of general attention. For the satisfaction of the serious enquirer who may not have the opportunity of seeing those tracts, and such others who are sincerely desirous that the iniquity of this practice may become eventually apparent, to those in whose

power it may be, to put a stop to any farther progress therein; it is proposed, hereby, to republish the most material parts of said tracts; and in order to enable the reader to form a true judgment of this matter, which, tho' so very important, is generally disregarded; or so artfully misrepresented by those whose interest leads them to vindicate it, as to bias the opinions of people otherwise upright; some account will be here given of the different parts of Africa, from which the Negroes are brought to America; with an impartial relation from what motives the Europeans were first induced to undertake, and have since continued this inhuman traffic, And here it will be improper to premise, that

tho' wars arising from the common depravity of human nature, have happened, as well among the Negroes as other nations and the weak sometimes been made captives to the strong; yet nothing appears, in the various relations of the intercourse and trade, for a long time, carried on by the Europeans, on that coast, which would induce us to believe, that there is any real foundation for that argument, so commonly advanced, in vindication of that trade viz. " *That the slavery of the Negroes took its rise from a desire in the purchasers, to save the lives of such of them as were taken captives in war, who would otherwise have been sacrificed to the insupportable revenge of their conquerors.*

A plea which when compared with the history of those times, will appear to be destitute of Truth; and to have been advanced, and urged, principally by such as were concerned in reaping the gain of this infamous traffic, as a palliation of that, against which their own reason and conscience, must have raised fearful objections.

Some Historical Account &c.

CHAP. I.

GUINEA affords an easy Living to its Inhabitants, with but little Toil. The Climate agrees well with the Natives; but extremely unhealthful to the Europeans. Produces Provisions in the greatest Plenty. Simplicity of their Householdry. The Coast of Guinea described from the River Senegal to the Kingdom of Angola. The Fruitfulness of that Part lying on and between the two great Rivers Senegal and Gambia. Account of the different Nations settled there. Order of Government amongst the Jafos. Good Account of some of the Fulis. The Mandigos; their Management, Government, &c. Their Worship. M. Adanson's Account of those Countries. Surprising Vegetation. Pleasant Appearance of the Country. He found the Natives very sociable and obliging.

WHEN the Negroes are considered barely in their present state of slavery, broken spirited and distressed;

And too easy credit is given to the accounts we frequently hear or read of their barbarous and savage way of living in their own country; we shall be naturally induced to look upon them as incapable of improvement, destitute, miserable, and insensible of the benefits of life; and that our permitting them to live amongst us, even on the most oppressive terms, is to them a favour; but on impartial enquiry, the case will appear to be far otherwise; we shall find that there is scarce a country in the whole world, that is better calculated for affording the necessary comforts of life to its inhabitants, with less solicitude and toil, than Guinea. And that notwithstanding the long converse of many of its inhabitants with (often) the worst of the Europeans, they still retain a great deal of innocent simplicity; and when not stirred up to revenge from the frequent abuses they have received from the Europeans in general; manifest themselves to be a humane, sociable people, whose faculties are as capable of improvement as those of other people; and that their oeconomy and government is, in many respects, commendable. Hence it appears they might have lived happy, if not disturbed by the Europeans; more especially, if these last had used such endeavours as their christian profession requires, to communicate to the ignorant Africans that superior knowledge

knowledge which providence had favoured them with. In order to set this matter in its true light, and for the information of those well minded people who are desirous of being fully acquainted with the merits of a cause, which is of the utmost consequence, as therein the lives and happiness of thousands and hundreds of thousands of our fellow men have fallen, and are daily making a sacrifice to selfish avarice, and usurped power, I will here give some account of the several divisions of those parts of Africa, from whence the Negroes are brought, with a summary of their produce; the disposition of their respective inhabitants; their improvements, &c &c. extracted from the credit; mostly such as have been perceived by officers in the English, French and Dutch factories, and who resided many years in those countries. But first it is necessary to premise, as a remark generally applicable to the whole coast of Guinea, "That the all mighty who has determined and appointed the bounds of the habitation of men on the face of the earth," in the manner that is most conducive to the well being of their different natures and dispositions has so ordered it that altho' Guinea is extremely hot and

A Gentleman's Magazine, Supplement, August 1800
Large verse from the island of Sumatra
the language of physic there, to Dr. Brocklesby

to the Europeans, of whom many thousands have met there with a miserable and untimely

" To form a just idea of the unhealthiness of the climate, it will be necessary to conceive a country extending three hundred leagues east, and more to the north and south. Thro' this country several large rivers run themselves into the sea; particularly the Sanaga, Gambia and Sherbro; these during the rainy months, which begin in July, and continue till October, overflow their banks and lay the whole flat country under water; and indeed, the very sudden rise of these rivers is incredible, to persons who have never been within the tropicks and are unacquainted with the violent rains that fall there. At Galem, nine hundred miles from the mouth of the Sanaga, I am informed that the waters rise one hundred and fifty feet perpendicular from the bed of the river. This information I received from a gentleman, who was surgeon's mate to a party sent there, and the only survivor of three captains command, each consisting of one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, a surgeon's mate, three serjeants, three corporals and fifty privates.

" When the rains are at an end which usually happens in October, the intense heat of the Sun soon dries up the waters, which lie on the higher parts of the earth, and the remainder forms lakes of stagnated waters, in which are found all sorts of dead animals: These waters every day decrease till at last they are quite exhauled and then the effluvia that arises is almost insupportable. At this season, the winds blow so very hot from off the land, that I can compare them to nothing but the heat proceeding from the mouth of an oven. This renders the Europeans to be sorely vexed with it.

untimely end, yet it is not so with the Negroes who enjoy a good state of health † and are able to procure to themselves a comfortable subsistence; with much less care and toil than is necessary in our more northern climate; which last advantage arises, not only from the warmth of the climate, but also from the overflowing of the rivers, whereby the land is regularly moistened and rendered extremely fertile; and being in many places improved by culture, abounds with grain and fruits, cattle, poultry, &c. The earth yields all the year a fresh supply of food: their clothes are requisite and little art necessary in making them; or in the construction of their houses, which are very simple.

" does and ~~others~~. From this account you
 " will not be surprised, that the total loss of Negro
 " subjects in this island only, amounts to above two
 " thousand five hundred in the space of three years
 " that I was there, in such a pestil moist air as I have
 " described.

† James Barbot, agent general to the French African company, in his account of Africa, says, " The natives are seldom troubled with
 " distempers, being little affected with the
 " air: in tempestuous times they keep their
 " doors, and when exposed to the weather they
 " being suppled and pores closed by ointment
 " with palm oil, the weather does not make im-
 " pression on them."

simple, principally calculated to defend them from the tempestuous seasons and wild beasts; a few dry reeds covered with mats serve for their beds. The other furniture, except what belongs to cookery, gives the women but little trouble; the moveables of the greatest among them amounting only to a few earthen pots, some wooden utensils and gourds or calabashes; from these last, which grow almost naturally over their huts, to which they afford an agreeable shade, they are abundantly stock't with good clean vessels for most household use, of different sizes, from half a pint to several gallons.

That part of Africa from which the Negroes are sold to be carried into slavery, commonly known by the name of Guinea, extends along the coast for more than a thousand miles. Beginning at the River Senegal, situate about the 17th degree of north latitude, being the nearest part of Guinea, as well to Europe, as to North America; from thence to the river Gambia, and in a southerly course to Cape Sierra Leona, comprehends a coast of about seven hundred Miles; being the trade tract for which Queen Elizabeth granted charters to the first traders to that coast: From Sierra Leona, the land of Guinea takes a turn to the eastward, extending that course about fifteen hundred miles, including

cluding those several divisions known by the name of the *Grain Coast*; the *Ivory Coast*; the *Gold Coast* and the *Slave Coast*, with the large kingdom of *Benin*. From thence the land runs southward along the coast about twelve hundred miles, which contains the kingdoms of *Congo* and *Angola*; there the trade for slaves ends. From which to the southernmost cape of Africa, called the cape of Good Hope, the country is settled by *Callas* and *Hottentots*: Who have never been concerned in the buying or selling slaves.

Of the parts which are above described, the first which presents itself to view, is that situate on the great river *Senegal*, which is said to be navigable more than a thousand miles, and is by travellers, described to be very agreeable and fruitful. *Andrew Brier* principal factor for the French African company, who lived sixteen years in that country, after describing its fruitfulness and plenty, near the Sea, adds: "the farther you go from the Sea, the country on the river seems the more fruitful and well proved; abounding with Indian corn, pulse, fruit &c. Here are vast meadows which feed large herds of great and small cattle, and poultry numerous. The land is large that lie thick on the river, and the country is well peopled." The principal

thor in the account of a voyage he made up the river Gambia, the mouth of which lyes about three hundred miles south of the Senegal, and is navigable about six hundred miles up the country, says || " That he was surprised to see the land so well cultivated; scarce a spot lay unimproved, the lowlands, divided by small canals, were all sowed with rice &c. the higher ground planted with millet, indian corn and pease of different sorts; their beef excellent; poultry plenty and very cheap as well as all other necessaries of life." Francis Moor, who was sent from England about the year 1735, in the service of the African company, and resided at James fort on the river Gambia, or in other factories on that river about five years, confirms the above account of the fruitfulness of the country. William Smith who was sent in the year 1726, by the African company, to survey their settlements thro' out the whole coast of Guinea, † says, " The country about the Gambia is pleasant and fruitful; provisions of all kinds being plenty and exceeding cheap." The country on and between the two abovementioned rivers is large and extensive, inhabited principally by three Negro nations known by the name of Jalofs, Fulis and Mandingoes. The Jalofs

|| Atley's Collection of voyages, vol. 2. page 311.

† William Smith's voyage to Guinea, page 51.

possess the middle of the country. The Zulus principal settlement is on both sides of the Senegal; great numbers of these people are also mixed with the Mandingoes; and are mostly settled on both sides the river. The Government of the Jalofs is represented as under a better regulation than, can be expected from the common opinion we entertain of the Negroes. We are told in the Collection, * That the King has under him several ministers of state who assist him in the exercise of justice. *The grand Jerafi* is the chief justice thro' all the King's dominions; and goes in circuit from time to time to hear complaints and determine controversies. *The King's treasurer* exercises the same employment, and has under him *Alkaim*, who are governors of towns or villages. That the *Kendi* or vice Roy goes the circuit with the chief justice both to hear causes and inspect into the behaviour of the *Alkadi* or chief magistrate of every village in their several districts †. *Vasconcelas* the author mentioned in the collection, says "The ancientest are preferred to be the Prince's counsellors; who keep always about his person, and the men of most judgment and experience are the judges."

C

The *Fulis* are settled on both sides of the river *Senegal*: Their country which is very fruitful and populous, extends near four hundred miles from east to west. They are generally of a deep tawny complexion, appearing to bear some affinity with the Moor's, whose country they join on the north: They are good farmers and make great harvest, of corn, cotton, tobacco &c. and breed great numbers of cattle of all kinds. *Bartholomew Stibbs*, (mentioned by *Fr: Moor*) in his account of that country says, † “ They were
 “ a cleanly, decent, industrious people and very
 “ affable.” But the most particular account we have of these people is from *Francis Moor* himself, who says ‡, “ Some of these
 “ Fuli blacks who dwell on both sides the
 “ river *Gambia*, are in subjection to the
 “ *Mandingos*, amongst whom they dwell,
 “ having been probably driven out of their
 “ country, by war or famine. They have
 “ chiefs of their own, who rule with much
 “ moderation. Few of them will drink brandy
 “ or any thing stronger than water and su-
 “ gar, being strict mahometans. Their
 “ form of government goes on easy, be-
 “ cause the people are of a good quiet dis-
 “ position and so well instructed in what is

† *Moor's travels into distant parts of Africa*, page 198.
 ‡ *Ibid*, page 21.

“ right, that a man who does ill is the a-
 “ bomination of all, and none will support
 “ him against the chief. In these countries
 “ the natives are not covetous of land,
 “ desiring no more than what they use, and
 “ as they do not plough with horses and
 “ cattle they can use but very little, there-
 “ fore the Kings are willing to give the
 “ Fulis leave to live in their country and
 “ cultivate their lands. If any of their
 “ people are known to be made slaves, all
 “ the Fulis will join to redeem them; they
 “ also support the old, the blind and lame a-
 “ mongst themselves; and as far as their abi-
 “ lities go, they supply the necessities of the
 “ *Mandingos*, great numbers of whom they
 “ have maintained in famine. *The author*
 from his own observations says, “ They were
 “ rarely angry, that he never heard them
 “ abuse one another.”

The Mandingos are said by *A. Bruce* before
 mentioned, “ To be the most numerous
 “ nation on the *Gambia*, besides which
 “ numbers of them are dispersed over all
 “ these countries; being the most right hu-
 “ manetans amongst the *Negroes*, they drink
 “ neither wine nor brandy, and are peevish
 “ than the other *Negroes*. The chief of the
 “ trade goes thro’ their hands. Many are
 “ industrious and laborious, keeping their
 “ ground well cultivated and breeding a

" good flock of cattle.† Every town has
 " an *Alkali*, or Governor, who has great
 " power; for most of them having two
 " common fields of clear ground, one for
 " corn and the other for rice, *the Alkali*
 " appoints the labour of all the people.
 " The men work the corn ground, and
 " the women and girls the rice ground,
 " and as they all equally labour, so he e-
 " qually divides the corn amongst them;
 " and in case any are in want, the others
 " supply them. This *Alkali* decides all
 " quarrels, and has the first voice in all
 " conferences in town affairs." Some of
 these *Mandigas* who are settled at *Galem*,
 far up the river *Senegal*, can read and write
 arabic tolerably, and are a good hospitable
 people, who carry on a trade with the in-
 land nations. " † They are extremely po-
 " pulous in those parts, their women be-
 " ing fruitful, and they not suffering any
 " person amongst them, but such are guilt-
 " y of crimes, to be made slaves." We are
 told, from *Jobson*, " || That the mahometan
 " Negroes say their prayers twice a day. Each
 " village has a priest who calls them to their
 " duty. It's surprizing (says the author) as
 " well as commendable, to see the modesty,
 " attention

" attention and reverence they observe dur-
 " ing their worship. He asked some of their
 " priests the purport of their prayers and cere-
 " monies ; their answer always was", " *That*
 " *they adored God, by prostrating themselves be-*
 " *fore him ; that by humbling themselves, they ac-*
 " *knowledged their own insignificancy ; and for-*
 " *ther entreated him to forgive their faults, and*
 " *to grant them all good and necessary things, as*
 " *well as deliverance from evil.*" Jobson takes
 notice of several good qualities in these Negro
 priests ; particularly their great sobriety.
 They gain their livelihood by keeping
 school, for the education of the children.
 The boys are taught to read and write.
 They not only teach school, but row a
 boat the country ; teaching and instruct-
 ing ; for which the whole country is o-
 pen to them ; and they have a free re-
 course thro' all places, tho' the Kings
 may be at war with one another.

The three forementioned nations, practice
 several trades, as smiths, potters, tanners, and
 weavers. Their smiths particularly work
 greatly in gold and silver, and make knives,
 hatchets, reaping hooks, spades and shovels
 to cut iron, &c. &c. Their potters make
 neat tobacco pipes, and pots to boil their
 food. Some authors say, that weaving is
 their principal trade ; this is done by the
 women and girls, who spin and weave very

fine cotton cloth, which they die blue or black. † F. Moor says the Jalofs particularly, make great quantities of the cotton cloth; their pieces are generally 27 yards long and but about 9 inches broad; their looms being very narrow; these they sew neatly together, so as to supply the use of broad cloth.

It was in these parts of Guinea, that M. Adanson, correspondant of the royal academy of sciences at Paris, mentioned in some former publications, was employed from the year 1749, to the year 1753, wholly in making *natural* and *philosophical* observations, on the country about the rivers *Senegal* and *Gambia*. Speaking of the great *heats* on *Senegal*, he says, “ † It is to them
“ that they are partly indebted for the fertility of their lands, which is so great,
“ that with little labour and care, there is
“ no fruit nor grain but grown in great plenty.”

Of the soil on *the Gambia*, he says, “ || It
“ is rich and deep, and amazingly fertile;
“ it produces spontaneously, and almost
“ without cultivation, all the necessaries of
“ life; grain, fruit, herbs, and roots. Every
very

† F. Moor, 28.

|| M. Adanson's voyage to *Senegal* &c. page 308.

¶ *Idem*, page 164.

" very thing matures to perfection, and is
 " excellent in its kind." * One thing
 which always surprised him, was the prodigi-
 ous rapidity, with which the sap of trees re-
 pair any loss they may happen to sustain in
 that country; " and I was never (says he)
 " more astonished, than when landing four
 " days after the locusts had devoured
 " all the fruits and leaves, and even the
 " buds of the trees, to find the trees co-
 " vered with new leaves; and they did not
 " seem me to have suffered much." †, " It
 " was then, (says the same author,) † the fifth
 " season; you might see them in shoals
 " approaching towards land. Some of those
 " shoals were fifty fathom square, and the
 " fish crowded together in such a manner
 " as to roll upon one another, without be-
 " ing able to swim. As soon as the Negroes
 " perceive them coming towards land, they
 " jump into the water, with a basket in one
 " hand, and swim with the other. They
 " need only to plunge and to lift up their
 " basket, and they are sure to return load-
 " ed with fish." Speaking of the appear-
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" an agreeable solitude, bounded on every
 " side by charming landscapes; the rural
 " situation of cottages in the midst of trees;
 " the ease and indolence of the *Negroes*, re-
 " clined under the shade of their spreading
 " foliage; the simplicity of their dress and
 " manners; the whole revived in my mind
 " the idea of our first parents, and enabled
 " to contemplate the world in its primitive
 " state. They are generally speaking, very
 " good natured, sociable and obliging. I
 " was not a little pleased with this my first
 " reception; it convinced me, that there
 " ought to be a considerable amendment
 " made in the accounts I had read and heard
 " every where of the savage character of the
 " *Africans*. I observed both in *Negroes* and
 " *Indians*, great humanity and sociableness;
 " which gave me strong hopes, that I should
 " be very safe amongst them, and meet with
 " the success I desired, in my inquiries after
 " the curiosities of the country." * He
 " was agreeably amused with the conversation
 " of the *Negroes*, their *fables*, *dialogues*, and
 " *rustic stories* with which they entertain each
 " other alternately, according to their custom.
 " Speaking of the remarks which the natives
 " made to him, with relation to the *stars* and
 " *planets*, he says " It is amazing, that such
 " a rude

“ a rude and illiterate people, should reason
 “ so pertinaciously in regard to those heavenly
 “ bodies; there is no manner of doubt, but
 “ that with proper instruments, and a good
 “ will, they would become excellent *astronomers*.
 “ *part*

C H A P. II.

THE Ivory Coast; its soil and produce. The character of the *natives* misrepresented by some authors. These misrepresentations occasioned by the *Europeans* having treacherously carried off many of their people. *John Smith* surgeon to the *African company*, his observations thereon. *John Snook's* remarks. *The Gold Coast* and *Slave Coast*, these have the most *European Factories*; and furnish the greatest number of slaves to the *Europeans*. Exceeding fertile. The country of *Axim*, and of *Ante*. Good account of the *Island people*. Great fishery. Extraordinary trade for slaves. *The Slave Coast*. *The kingdom of Whidah*. Fruitful and pleasant. The natives kind and obliging. Very populous. Keep regular markets and fairs. Good order therein. Murder, adultery and theft severely punished. The *King's*

nues. The principal people have an idea of the true God. Commendable care of the poor. Several small governments depend on *plunder and the slave trade*.

THAT part of Guinea, known by the name of the *Grain, and Ivory Coast*, come, next in course. This coast extends about 500 miles. The soil appears by account to be in general fertile, producing abundance of rice and roots; indigo and cotton thrive without cultivation and tobacco would be excellent if carefully manufactured; fish in great plenty, their flocks greatly increase and their trees are loaded with fruit. They make a cotton cloth which sells well on the Coast. In short the country is rich and the commerce advantageous and might be greatly augmented by such as would cultivate the friendship of the natives; these are represented by some writers as a rude, treacherous people; whilst several other authors of credit give them a very different character; representing them as sensible, courteous and the fairest traders on the coast of Guinea. In the collection they are said * to be averse to drinking to excess, and such as do are severely punished by the king's order:

order: on inquiry why there is such a disagreement in the character given of these people, it appears, that tho' they are naturally inclined to be *kind to strangers*, with whom they are *fond of trading*, yet the frequent injuries done them by Europeans, has occasioned their being *suspicious and sly*: the same cause has been the occasion of the ill treatment they have sometimes given to innocent strangers, who have attempted to trade with them. As the Europeans have no settlement on this part of *Guinea*, the trade is carried on by signals from the ships; on the appearance of which the natives usually come on board, in their canoes, bringing their gold-dust, ivory, &c. which has given opportunity to some villainous Europeans to carry them off with their effects, or retain them on board till a ransom is paid. It is noted by some that since the European voyagers have carried away several of these people, their misfortune is so great, that it is very difficult to prevail on them to come on board. *William Smith* remarks * "As we pass
 " along this coast, we very often lay be-
 " fore a town and fired a gun for the na-
 " tives to come off; but no soul came
 " near us; at length we learnt, by some
 " ships that were trading down the coast

“ that the natives came seldom on board
 “ an English ship, for fear of being de-
 “ tained or carried off; yet at last some
 “ ventured on board; but if these chanced
 “ to spy any arms, they would all immedi-
 “ ately take to their canoes and make the
 “ best of their way home. They had
 “ then in their possession one *Benjamin Crof*,
 “ the mate of an English vessel, who was
 “ detained by them to make reprisals for
 “ some of their men, who had formerly
 “ been carried away by some English vessel.”

In the Collection we are told, ** This villi-
 nous custom, is too often practised, chiefly by the
 Bristol and Liverpool ships; and is a great de-
 triment to the slave trade on the Windward
 Coast. John Snook mentioned in Bosman † when
 on that coast wrote. “ We cast anchor, but
 “ not one Negro coming on board, I went on
 “ shore, and after having staid awhile on
 “ the strand, some Negroes came to me; and
 “ being desirous to be informed why they
 “ did not come on board, I was answered,
 “ that about two months before the English
 “ had been there with two large vessels,
 “ and had ravaged the country, destroyed
 “ all their canoes, plundered their houses
 “ and carried off some of their people; up-*

* *Atley's collection, vol. 2 page, 475.*

† *W. Bosman's description of Guinea p. 44th*

“ on which the remainder fled to the inland
 “ country, where most of them were at
 “ that time; so that there being not much
 “ to be done by us, we were obliged to
 “ return on board. * When I enquired
 “ after their wars with other countries,
 “ they told me, they were not often trou-
 “ bled with them; but if any difference
 “ happened, they chose rather to end the
 “ dispute amicably than to come to arms. †

He found the inhabitants civil and §, & natured. Speaking of the king of *Rio de S. Pedro*, lower down the coast, he says, “ He was a
 “ very agreeable, obliging man, and that
 “ all his subjects are civil, as well as very
 “ laborious in agriculture and the pursuits
 “ of trade.” *Marchais* says, || “ They
 “ thought the country is very populous;
 “ yet none of the natives (except criminals)
 “ are sold for slaves.” *Vaillant* never
 heard of any settlement being made by
 the Europeans on this part of *Guinea*; and
Smith remarks, § “ That these coasts, which
 “ are divided into several little kingdoms,
 “ and have seldom any wars, is the reason
 “ the slave trade is not so good here as on
 “ the *Gold and Slave Coast*, where the

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* *W. Bosman's description of Guinea*, page 40.
 † *Ibid.* 441. | *Astley's collection* 2 vol. page 67.
 § *Smith's voyage to Guinea*, 112.

* means have several forts and factories." A plain evidence this, that it is the intercourse with the Europeans and their settlements on the coast which gives life to the slave trade.

Next adjoining to the *Ivory Coast* are those called *the Gold Coast* and *the Slave Coast*; authors are not agreed about their bounds; but their extent together along the coast, may be about five hundred miles. And as the policy, produce and economy of these two divisions of *Guinea* are much the same, I shall describe them together.

Here the Europeans have the greatest number of forts and factories, from whence, by means of the Negro factors, a trade is carried on above seven hundred miles back in the inland country; whereby great numbers of slaves are procured, as well by means of the wars which arise amongst the Negroes, or are fomented by the Europeans, as those brought from the back country. Here we find the natives more reconciled to the European manners and trade; but, at the same time, much more inured to war, and ready to assist the European traders, in procuring sailings for the great number of vessels which come yearly on those coasts for slaves. This part of *Guinea* is agreed by historians to be, in general, extraordinary fruitful and agreeable; producing (according to the difference

difference of the soil) vast quantities of rice
 and other grain; plenty of fruit and
 roots; palm wine and oyl, and fish in great
 abundance; with much tame and wild cattle.
 Bosman, principal factor for the Dutch at
 D'Elmina, speaking of the country of Axim,
 which is situate towards the beginning of the
 Gold Coast, † says, " The Negro inhabi-
 " tants are generally very rich, driving a
 " great trade with the Europeans for goods:
 " That they are industriously employed
 " either in trade, fishing, or agriculture;
 " but chiefly in the culture of rice, which
 " grows here, in an incredible abun-
 " dance, and is transported hence all over
 " the Gold Coast. The inhabitants in boats
 " returning full fraught with millet, yams
 " potatoes and palm oyl. The same author
 " speaking of the country of Ante, says
 " † This country, as well as the Gold Coast,
 " abounds with hills, enriched with extra-
 " ordinary high and beautiful trees; its
 " valleys, betwixt the hills, are wide and
 " extensive, producing in great abundance
 " very good rice, millet, yams, potatoes,
 " and other fruits, all good in their kind.
 He adds, " In short it is a land that yields
 " its manures as plentiful crop as the best
 " with, with great quantities of palm wine and

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† Bosman's description of the coast of Guinea, p. 5.
 ‡ Idem, p. 14.

“ oil, besides being well furnished with all
 “ sorts of tame, as well as wild beasts; but
 “ that the last fatal wars had reduced it to
 “ a miserable condition, and stripped it of
 “ most of its inhabitants.” The adjoining
 country of Fetu, he says, || was formerly
 so powerful and populous, that it struck
 “ terror into all the neighbouring nations;
 “ but it is at present, so drained by continu-
 “ al wars, that it is entirely ruined; there
 “ does not remain inhabitants sufficient to
 “ till the country; tho’ it is so fruitful and
 “ pleasant that it may be compared to the
 “ country of Ante, just before described;
 “ frequently, says that author, when walk-
 “ ing thro’ it before the last war, I have
 “ seen it abound with fine well built and po-
 “ pulous towns, agreeably enriched with
 “ vast quantities of corn, cattle, palm wine
 “ and oil. The inhabitants all applying
 “ themselves without any distinction to a-
 “ griculture, some sow corn, others press
 “ oil and draw wine from palm trees, with
 “ both which it is plentifully stored,”

William Smith gives much the same ac-
 count of the before mentioned parts of the
 Gold Coast, and adds, “ The country a-
 “ bout D’Elmina and Cape Coast, is much
 “ the same for beauty and goodness, but
 “ more populous; and the nearer we come
 “ towards

" towards the Slave-Coast, the more de-
 " lightful and rich all the countries are,
 " producing all sorts of trees, fruits, roots
 " and herbs, that grow within the torrid
 " Zone." J. Barbot also remarks, † with
 respect to the countries of Ante and A-
 dom, " That the soil is very good, and
 " fruitful in corn and other produce, which
 " it affords in such plenty, that besides
 " what serves for their own use they always
 " export great quantities for sale; they
 " have a competent number of cattle, both
 " tame and wild; and the rivers abundant-
 " ly stored with fish; so that nothing is
 " wanting for the support of life, and to
 " make it easy." In the Collection it is said, ‡
 " That the Inland people, on that part of
 " the coast, employ themselves in tillage
 " and trade, and supply the market with
 " corn, fruit and palm wine; the country
 " producing such vast plenty of indian corn,
 " that abundance is daily exported, as well
 " by Europeans as Blacks resorting thither;
 " from other parts." " These Inland peo-
 " ple are said to live in great union and
 " friendship, being generally well temper-
 " ed, civil and tractable; not apt to
 " shed human blood, except when much
 " provoked; and ready to assist one another."

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 † John Barbot's description of Guinea, p. 11.

‡ Astley's Collection, 2. vol. p. 535.

In the Collection ||, it is said, " That the
 " fishing business is esteemed on the Gold
 " Coast next to trading; that those who
 " profess it are more numerous than those
 " of other employments. That the greatest
 " number of these are at Kommando, Mina
 " and Kormantin; from each of which pla-
 " ces, there goes out every morning, (Tues-
 " day excepted, which is the Fetish day, or
 " day of rest.) five, six and sometimes eight
 " hundred canoes, from 13 to 14 feet long,
 " who spread themselves two leagues at
 " sea, each fisherman carrying in his canoe
 " a sword, with bread, water, and a little
 " fire, on a large stone, to roast fish. Thus
 " they labour till noon, when the sea breeze
 " blowing fresh, they return on the shore,
 " generally laden with fish; a quantity of
 " which the Inland inhabitants come down
 " to buy, which they sell again at the
 " country markets."

William Smith † says " The country about
 " Acra, where the English and Dutch have
 " each a strong fort, is very delightful, and
 " the natives courteous and civil to strangers.
 " He adds, " That this place seldom fails
 " of an extraordinary good trade from the
 " Inland country; especially for slaves,
 " whereof

|| Collection, vol. 2. page 640.

† William Smith, p. 135.

“ whereof several are supposed to come from
 “ very remote parts ; because it is not un-
 “ common to find a Malayan or two amongst
 “ a parcel of other slaves : The Malaya
 “ people are originally natives of Malacca,
 “ in the East Indies, situate several thousand
 “ miles from the Gold Coast.” They dif-
 fer very much from the Guinea Negroes,
 being of a tawny complexion, with long
 black hair.

Most parts of the Slave Coasts are repre-
 sented as equally fertile and pleasant with
 the Gold Coast : The kingdom of Whidah
 has been particularly noted by travellers. †
 William Smith and Bosman agree, “ That
 “ it is one of the most delightful countries
 “ in the world. The great number and va-
 “ riety of tall, beautiful and shady trees,
 “ which seem planted in groves ; the ven-
 “ dant fields every where cultivated, and no
 “ otherwise divided than by those groves,
 “ and in some places a small foot path ; to-
 “ gether with a great number of villages,
 “ contribute to afford the most delightful
 “ prospect ; the whole country being so fine
 “ easy and almost imperceptible ascent for
 “ the space of 40 or 50 miles from the sea.
 “ That the farther you go from the sea, the
 “ the more beautiful and populous the coun-
 “ try appears. That the natives were kind

" and obliging, and so industrious, that
 " no place which was thought fertile could
 " escape being planted, even within the
 " hedges, which inclose their villages. And
 " that the next day after they had reaped
 " they sowed again."

Sacgrave also says, " The country ap-
 " pears full of towns and villages, and be-
 " ing a rich soil and well cultivated, looked
 " like an entire garden." In the Collection *
 the husbandry of the *Negres* is described
 to be carried on with great regularity; the
 " rainy season approaching they go into the
 " fields and weeds, to fix on a proper place
 " for sowing; and as there is no property in
 " ground, the king's licence being obtain-
 " ed, the people go out in troops, and first
 " clear the ground from bushes and weeds
 " which they burn. The fields thus cleared
 " they dig it up a foot deep and so let it
 " remain for eight or ten days, till the rest
 " of their neighbours have disposed their
 " ground in the same manner. They then
 " consult about sowing, and for that end
 " assemble at the king's court, the next
 " Festival day. The king's grain must be
 " sown first. They then go again to the
 " field, and give the ground a second
 " digging, and sow their seed.

“ the king or governour's land is sow-
 “ ing, he sends out wine, and flesh ready
 “ dressed, enough to serve the labourers.
 “ Afterwards they in like manner sow the
 “ ground allotted for their neighbours, as
 “ diligently as that of the king; by whom
 “ they are also feasted; and to continue to
 “ work in a body for the publick benefit,
 “ till every man's ground is tilled and sow-
 “ ed. None but the king and a few great
 “ men are exempted from this labour. Their
 “ grain soon sprouts out of the ground.
 “ When it is about man's height and be-
 “ gins to ear, they raise a wooden house in
 “ the centre of the field, covered with straw,
 “ in which they set their children to watch
 “ their corn and fright away the birds.”

Bosman * speaks in commendation of
 the civility, kindness and great industry of
 the natives of Whydah; this is confirmed by
 Smith† who says, “ The natives here seem to
 “ be the most gentleman like *Negres* in
 “ Guinea, abounding with good manners
 “ and ceremony to each other. The infe-
 “ rior pay the utmost deference and respect
 “ to the superior; as do wives to their
 “ husbands, and children to their parents.
 “ All here are naturally industrious and find
 “ constant employment: the men in agri-
 “ culture.

culture, and the women in spinning and weaving cotton. The men, whose chief talent lies in husbandry, are unacquainted with arms; otherwise being a numerous people, they could have made a better defence against the king of Dahome, who subdued them without much trouble."

* Throughout the Gold Coast there are regular markets in all villages, furnished with provisions and merchandize, held every day in the week, except Tuesday; whence they supply not only the inhabitants, but the European Ships. The *Negro women* are very expert in buying and selling, and extremely industrious; so they will repair daily to market, from a considerable distance, loaded like pack horses, with a child, perhaps, at their back, and a heavy burden on their heads. After selling their wares, they buy fish and other necessaries and return home loaded as they came.

† There is a market held at Sabi, every fourth day; also a weekly one in the province of Aplegna, which is resorted to, that there are usually five or six thousand merchants. Their markets are so well regulated and governed, that seldom any disorder happens; each species of merchandise

chandize and merchants have a separate
 place allotted them by themselves. The
 buyers may haggle as much as they will,
 but it must be without noise or fraud.
 To keep order the king appoints a judge,
 who with four officers well armed, inspects
 the Markets, hear all complaints, and in a
 summary way decides all differences; he
 has power to seize and sell as slaves all
 who are caught in stealing, or disturb-
 ing the peace. In these markets are to
 be sold men, women, children, oxen,
 sheep, goats and fowls of all kinds: Eu-
 ropean cloths, linen and woollen; print-
 ed callices, silk, grocery ware, china, gold
 dust, iron in bars, &c. in a word most sorts
 of European goods: as well as the pro-
 duce of *Africa* and *Asia*.—They have
 other markets resembling our fairs, once
 or twice a year, to which all the country
 repair, for they take care to order the
 day so in different governments as not to
 interfere with each other.*

With respect to government, William
 Smith says, "† That the Gold Coast and
 Slave Coasts are divided into different dis-
 tricts, some of which are governed by
 their chiefs or kings; the others being
 more of the nature of a commonwealth,
 " are

are governed by some of the principal men, called Cabeceros, who Bosman says, are properly denominated civil fathers; whose province is to take care of the welfare of the city or village and to appease "tumults." But this order of government has been much broken since the coming of the Europeans. Both Bosman and Barbot mention *murder and adultery to be severely punished on the Coast, frequently by death; and robbery by a fine proportionable to the goods stolen.*

The income of some of the king's is large. Bosman says, "That the king of Whydah's revenues and duties on things bought and sold are considerable; he having the tithe of all things sold in the market, or imported in the country." † Both the abovementioned authors say, *the tax on slaves shipped off in this king's dominions, in some years amounts to near twenty thousand pounds.*

Bosman tells us, "The Whydah Negroes have a faint idea of a true God, ascribing to him the attributes of almighty power and omnipresence; but God, they say, is too high to condescend to think of mankind, wherefore he commits the government of the world to those inferior deities which they worship." Some authors

say the wisdom of their ancestors, and their mistake in this opinion, that does not forsake their old religion, for fear of the populace rising and killing them; this is confirmed by William Smith who says, "That
" all the natives of this coast believe there is
" one true God, the author of them and all
" things; and that they have some apprehen-
" sion of a future state; and that almost every
" village has a grove, or public place of wor-
" ship, to which the principal inhabitants, on
" a set day, resort to make their offerings."

In the Collection * it is remarked as an ex-
cellency in the Guinea government, " That
" however poor they may be in general,
" yet there are no beggars to be found
" amongst them; which is owing to the
" care of their chief men, whose province
" it is to take care of the welfare of the
" city or village; it being part of their office
" to see that such people may earn their
" bread by their labour; some are set to
" blow the smith's bellows, others to press
" palm oyl, or grind colours for their mats
" and sell provision in the markets. The
" young men are fitted to serve as soldiers,
" so that they suffer no common beggar."

Bosman ascribes a further reason for this
good order, viz. " That when a Negro

E

had

he binds himself
of money, and the
he is bound, is obliged
to his necessities: that the master
sets him a sort of task, which is not in the
least slavish, being chiefly to defend his
master on occasions; or in sowing time
to work as much as he himself pleases.†

Adjoining to the kingdom of Whydah,
are several small governments, as Cote,
great and small Pope, Ardrah, &c. all situ-
ate on the Slave Coast, where the chief trade
for slaves is carried on. These are go-
vern- ed by their respective kings, and follow
much the same customs with those of Why-
dah; except that their principal living is on
plunder, and the slave trade.

CHAP.

C H A P T E R

THE kingdom of Benin. Its extent.

Esteemed the most potent in *Guinea*. Fruitfulness of the soil. Good disposition of the people. Order of government. Punishment of crimes. Large extent of the town of *Great Benin*. Order maintained. The natives honest and charitable. Their religion. The kingdoms of *Kongo* and *Angola*. Many of the natives profess christianity. The country fruitful. Disposition of the people. The administration of justice. The town of *Loango*. Slave trade carried on by the *Portuguese*. Here the slave trade ends.

NEXT adjoining to the Slave Coast, is the kingdom of *Benin*, which though it extends but about 170 miles on the Sea, yet spreads so far inland as to be esteemed the most potent kingdom in *Guinea*. By its accounts the soil and produce appears to be a great measure, like those before described, and the natives represented as a very good natured people: *Afins* says they are a sincere, inoffensive people,

...to one another or to
William Smith † confirms
and says, " That the inhabi-
tants are generally very good natured
and exceeding courteous and civil. When
the Europeans make them presents, which
in their coming thither to trade they
always do, they endeavour to return them
doubly."

Bosman tells us, † " That his countrymen
the Dutch, who were often obliged to
to trust them till they return the next
year, were sure to be honestly paid their
whole debts.

There is in Benin a considerable order in
government. Theft, murder and adultery
being severely punished. Barbot says, * " If
a man and a woman of any quality be
surprised in adultery, they are both put to
death, and their bodies are thrown on a
dung-hill, and left there a prey to wild
beasts." He adds, " The severity of the
law in Benin against adultery ‖ amongst
all

* Smith, p. 228.

† W. Bosman, p. 405.

Barbot, p. 237.

‖ By this account of the punishment inflicted on
adulterers in this and other parts of Guinea, it ap-
pears the *Negroes* are not insensible of the sinfulness
of such practices. How strange must it then appear to the
Europeans

(59)

"all orders of people, venturing; so that it is but very seldom any persons are punished for great crime." Smith says, "Their towns are governed by officers appointed by the king, who have power to decide in civil cases, and to raise the publick taxes; but in criminal cases they must send to the king's court, which is held at the town of Oede or Great Benin. This town which covers a large extent of ground, is about sixty miles from the

serious minded amongst these people, (nay how inconsistent is it with every divine and moral law, amongst ourselves,) that those christian laws which prohibit fornication and adultery, are in none of the English governments extended to them: but that they are allowed to cohabit and separate at pleasure? And that even their masters think so lightly of their marriage engagements, that when it suits with their interest, they will separate man from wife, and children from both, to be sold, in different, and even distant parts; without regard to their sometimes grievous lamentations; whence it has happened, that such of those people who are truly united in their marriage covenant, and in affection to one another, have been driven to such desperation as either violently to destroy themselves, or gradually to pine away, and die with more grief. It is amazing, that whilst the clergy of the established church, are publicly expressing contentment, that these oppressed people should be made acquainted with the christian religion; they should be thus seduced, and even forced so flagrantlly to incurr the principle injunctions of our holy religion.

Barbot tells us, "That it con-
sists of thirty streets, twenty fathom wide,
and almost two miles long, commonly
extending in a straight line from one gate
to another; that the gates are guarded
by soldiers; that in these streets markets
are held every day of cattle, ivory, cotton
and many sorts of European goods. This
large town is divided into several wards
or districts, each governed by its respec-
tive king of a street, as they call them;
to administer justice, and to keep good
order. The inhabitants are very civil and
good natured, condescending to what the
Europeans require of them, in a civil
way." The same author confirms what
has been said by others of their justice in
the payment of their debts; and adds,
"That they above all other Guineans are
very honest and just in their dealings, and
they have such an aversion for theft, that
by the law of the country it is punished
with death." We are told by the same
author, † "That the king of Benin is
able upon occasion to maintain an army
of a hundred thousand men; but that
for the most part, he does not keep thirty
thousand." William Smith says, "The
natives

* J. Barbot, page 348. 359. † Barbot, p. 359.

" natives are all free men;
" reigners can be bought and sold;
" They are ve. charitable, thinking as well
" as his subjects." Bosman confirms this,
and says, " The king and great lords subsist
" several poor at their place of residence on
" charity, employing those who are fit for
" any work, and the rest they keep for
" God's sake, so that here are no beggars."

As to religion these people believe there is a God the efficient cause of all things, but like the rest of the Guineans they are superstitiously and idolatrously inclined.

The last division of Guinea from which slaves are imported; are the kingdoms of Kongo and Angola, these lye to the south of Benin, extending with the intermediate land about twelve hundred miles on the Coast. Great numbers of the natives of both these kingdoms profess the christian religion, which was long since introduced by the Portuguese, who made early settlements in that country.

In the Collection it is said, that both in Kongo and Angola the soil is in general fruitful, producing great plenty of grain, indian corn and such quantities of rice that it hardly bears any price, with fruits, roots and palm oyl in plenty.

The

are generally a quiet people, who discover a good understanding, and behave in a friendly manner to strangers, being of a mild conversation, affable and easily overcoming with reason.

In the government of Kongo, the king appoints a judge in every particular division, to hear and determine disputes and civil causes; the judges imprison and release, or impose fines according to the rule of custom; but in weighty matters every one may appeal to the king, before whom all criminal causes are brought, in which he giveth sentence; but seldom condemneth to death.

The town of Leango stands in the midst of four lordships, which abound in corn, fruit &c. Here they make great quantities of cloth of divers kinds very fine and curious; the inhabitants are seldom idle: they even make needle work caps as they walk in the streets.

The slave trade is here principally managed by the Portuguese; who carry the trade far up into the inland countries. They are said to send off from these parts fifteen thousand slaves each year.

At Angola, about the 10th degree of south latitude ends the trade for slaves.

CHAP. IV.

THE ancientest accounts of the Negroes, is from the Nubian Geography, and the writings of Leo the African. Some account of those authors. The Arabians pass into Guinea. The innocence and simplicity of the natives. They are subdued by the Moors: Heli Ischia shakes off the Moorish yoke. The Portuguese make the first descent in Guinea; from whence they carry off some of the natives: More incursions of the like kind. The Portuguese erect the first fort at D'Elmina: They begin the slave trade. De Castro's testimony. Anderson's account to the same purport. Dela Caza's concern for the relief of the oppressed Indians. Goes over into Spain to plead their cause. His speech before Charles the fifth.

THE most ancient account we have of the country of the Negroes, particularly that part situate on and between the two great rivers of Senegal and Gambia, is from the writings of two ancient authors, one an Arabian and the other a Moor. The

in Arabic about the twelfth century. His works printed in that language at Rome, were afterwards translated into Latin and printed at Paris, under the patronage of the famous Thuanus, chancellor of France, with the title of *Geographica Nubiensis*, containing an account of all the nations lying on the Senegal and Gambia. The other wrote by John Leo, † a Moor born at Granada, in Spain, before the Moors were totally expelled from that kingdom. He resided in Africa; but being on a voyage from Tripoli to Tunis, was taken by some Italian Corsairs, who finding him possessed of several Arabian books, besides his own manuscripts, apprehended him to be a man of learning, and as such presented him to Pope Leo the 10th. This Pope encouraging him, he embraced the Romish religion; and his description of Africa was published in Italian. From these writings we gather, that after the mahometan religion had extended to the kingdom of Morocco, some of the promoters of it, crossing the sandy deserts of Numidia, which separates that country from Guinea, found it inhabited by men, who tho' under no regular government and destitute of that knowledge

† See travels into different parts of Africa by Fr. Moor, with a letter to the publisher.

† Ibid.

the Arabians were favoured with, lived in content and peace. The first author particularly remarks, " That they never made war or travelled abroad, but employed themselves in tending their herds, or labouring in the ground. 4: Leo says p. 65. That they lived in common, having no property in land, no tyrant nor superior lord, but supported themselves in an equal state, upon the natural produce of the country, which afforded plenty of roots, game and honey. That ambition or avarice never drove them into foreign countries to subdue or cheat their neighbours. Thus they lived without toil or superfluities." " The ancient inhabitants of Morrocco who wore coats of mail, and used swords and spears headed with iron, coming amongst these harmless and naked people, soon brought them under subjection, and divided that part of Africa which lies on the rivers Senegal and Niger into fifteen parts; those were the fifteen kingdoms of the Negroes, over which the Moors presided and the common people were Negroes. These Moors taught the Negroes the mahometan religion and arts of life; particularly the use of iron, before unknown to them: About the 14th century, a native Negro called Heli-Heli, expelled the Moorish conquerors; but the

the Negroes threw off the yoke of a foreign
 nation, they only changed a Libyan for a Ne-
 gro-master. Heli Ifchia himself becoming
 king, led the Negroes on to foreign war,
 and established himself in power over a very
 large extent of country." Since Leo's time,
 the Europeans have had very little knowledge
 of those parts of Africa; nor do they know what
 became of his great empire. It is highly proba-
 ble that it broke into pieces, and that the na-
 tives again resumed many of their ancient
 customs; for in the account published by
 William Moor, in his travels on the river
 Gambia, we find a mixture of the Moorish
 and mahometan customs, joined with the
 original simplicity of the Negroes. It ap-
 pears by accounts of ancient voyages, col-
 lected by Hackluit, Purchase and others;
 that it was about fifty years before the dis-
 covery of America, that the Portuguese at-
 tempted to sail round cape Bojador which lays
 between their country and Guinea; this af-
 ter divers repulses, occasioned by the violent
 currents, they effected; when landing on the
 western coast of Africa they soon began to
 make incursions into the country and to seize
 and carry off the native-inhabitants. As
 early as the year 1434, Alonso Gonzalez,
 the first who is recorded to have met with
 the natives, being on that coast, pursued
 and

and attacked a number of them, whose women were wounded, as was also one of the Portuguese, which the author records, as the first blood spilt by Christians in these parts. Six years after, ~~the~~ ^{Don} ~~the~~ ^{Alonso} ~~Gonzales~~ ^{Gonzales} again attacked the natives, and took twelve prisoners; with whom he returned to his vessels; he afterwards put a woman on shore in order to induce the natives to ransom the prisoners; but the next day 150 of the inhabitants appeared on horses and camels, provoking the Portuguese to land, which they not daring to venture, the natives discharged a volley of stones at them, and went off. After this the Portuguese did continue to send vessels on the coast of Africa, particularly we read of their sailing on a village, whence the inhabitants fled and being pursued, 25 were taken. " *He that ran best, says the author, taking the most* " *in their way home they killed some of* " *the natives, and took fifty-five more pri-* " *soners. † Afterwards Dinisanes Dagra-* " *ma, with two other vessels landed on the* " *island Arguin, where they took 54* " *then running along the coast 80 leagues* " *farther they at several times took 50* " *but here seven of the Portuguese were killed* " *Then being joined by several other ves-* " *sels, Dinisanes proposed to destroy the*

46
land, to revenge the loss of the *São Tor-
tuguense*, of which the Moors being apprized
ed fled, so that no more than 12 were found
whereof only four could be taken; the
rest being killed, as also one of the Por-
tuguese." Many more captures of this
kind, on the coast of Barbary and Guinea,
are recorded to have been made in those ear-
ly times by the Portuguese; who in the
year 1481, erected their first fort at *D'Elmina*
on that coast, from whence they soon open-
ed a trade for slaves with the inland parts of
Guinea.

From the foregoing accounts it is un-
doubted that the practice of making slaves
of the Negroes, owes its origin to the early
incursions of the Portuguese on the coast of
Africa, solely from an inordinate desire of
gain; this is clearly evidenced from their
own historians, particularly *Cada Mosto* a-
bout the year 1455, who writes, " * That
before the trade was settled for purchas-
ing slaves from the Moors at Arguin,
sometimes four, and sometimes more Por-
tuguese vessels, were used to come to that
gulf, well armed, and landing by night
would surprise some fishermen's villages;
that they even entered into the country
and carried off Arabs of both sexes, whom
they sold in Portugal." And also " That
the

the Portuguese and Spaniards settled on four of the Canary islands, would go to the other island, by night, and seize some of the natives of both sexes, whom they sent to be sold in Spain."

After the settlement of America those devastations and the captivations the miserable Africans greatly increased.

Anderson in his history of trade and commerce, at page 336, speaking of what passed in the year 1508, writes " That the Spaniards had by this time found that the miserable Indian natives, whom they had made to work in their mines and fields, were not so robust and proper for those purposes, as Negroes, brought from Africa; wherefore they, about that time, began to import Negroes for that end into Hispaniola, from the Portuguese settlements, on the Guinea coasts; and also afterwards for their sugar works;" This oppression of the Indians, had, even before this time, roused the zeal, as well as it did the compassion of some of the truly pious of that day; particularly that of Bartholomew Delas Casas, bishop of Chapia; whom a desire of being instrumental towards the conversion of the Indians, had invited into America. It is generally agreed, by the writers of that age, that he was a man of perfect disinterestedness, and ardent charity; being affected with this

And Balthazar, he returned to the court of Spain, and there made a true report of the matter: but not without being strongly opposed by those mercenary wretches, who had enslaved the Indians; yet being strong and indefatigable, he went to and fro, between Europe and America, firmly determined not to give over his pursuit, but with his life. After long solicitation and innumerable repulses, he obtained leave to lay the matter before the Emperor Charles the Fifth, then King of Spain. As the contents of the speech he made before the King in council, are very applicable to the case of the enslaved Africans, and a lively evidence that the spirit of true piety speaks the same language in the hearts of faithful men, in all ages, for the relief of their fellow creatures, from oppression of every kind, I think it may not be improper, here to transcribe the most interesting parts of it. “ I was,
 “ says this pious bishop, one of the first who
 “ went to America; neither curiosity, nor
 “ interest prompted me to undertake so
 “ long and dangerous a voyage, the saving
 “ the souls of the heathen was my sole ob-
 “ ject. Why was I not permitted, even at
 “ the expence of my blood, to ransom so
 “ many thousand souls, who fell unhappy
 “ victims to avarice or lust? I have been
 “ an eye witness to such cruel treatment of
 “ the

the Indians, as is too horrid to be men-
 tioned at this time. --- It is said that bar-
 barous executions were necessary to pur-
 suit or check the rebellion of the Ameri-
 cans ;---but to whom was this owing ?
 did not those people receive the Spaniards
 who first came amongst them with gentle-
 ness and humanity ? Did they not show
 more joy, in proportion, in lavishing
 treasure upon them, than the Spaniards
 did greediness in receiving it ?---but our
 avarice was not yet satisfied ;---tho' they
 gave up to us their land and their riches,
 we would tear from them their wives, their
 children and their liberties. ---To black-
 en these unhappy people, their enemies
 assert, that they are scarce human crea-
 tures ;---but it is we that ought to blush,
 for having been less men, and more bar-
 barous than they. --- What right have
 we to enslave a people who are born free
 and whom we disturbed, tho' they never
 offended us ? --- They are represented as
 a stupid people, addicted to vice ;---but
 have they not contracted most of their
 vices from the example of the christians ?
 And as to the vices peculiar to them-
 selves, have not the christians quickly ex-
 ceeded them therein ? Nevertheless it
 must be granted, that the Indians still re-
 main untainted with many vices usual a-
 mongst

10 amongst the Europeans; such as ambition,
 11 boasting, treachery, and many like
 12 monsters, which have not yet took place
 13 with them; they have scarce an idea of
 14 them; so that in effect, all the advantage
 15 we can claim, is to have more elevated
 16 notions of things, and our natural facul-
 17 ties more unfolded and more cultivated
 18 than theirs. — Don't let us flatter our
 19 corruptions, nor voluntarily blind our-
 20 selves; all nations are equally free; one
 21 nation has no right to intringe upon the
 22 freedom of any other; let us do towards
 23 these people as we would have them to
 24 have done towards us, if they had stand-
 25 ed upon our shore, with the same superi-
 26 ority of strength. And indeed, why
 27 should not things be equal on both sides?
 28 How long has the right of the strongest
 29 been allowed to be the balance of justice?
 30 What part of the gospel gives a sanction
 31 to such a doctrine? In what part of the
 32 whole earth did the apostles and the first pro-
 33 mulgators of the gospel ever claim a right o-
 34 ver the lives, the freedom, or the substance
 35 of the Gentiles? What a strange method
 36 this of propagating the gospel, that holy
 37 law of grace, which from being slaves to
 38 Satan, initiates us into the freedom of
 39 the children of God! — Will it be possi-
 40 ble for us to inspire them with a love to
 41 its

" its dictates, while they are so en-
 " dored as being dispossessed of that inviolable
 " blessing, *Liberty*? The apostles submitted
 " to chains themselves, but loaded no man
 " with them. Christ came to free not to
 " enslave us.——Submission to the faith
 " he left us, ought to be a voluntary act,
 " and should be propagated by persuasion,
 " gentleness and reason."

" At my first arrival in Hispaniola, add-
 " ed the bishop, it contained a million of
 " inhabitants, and now (viz. in the space
 " of about twenty years) there remains scarce
 " the hundredth part of them;---thousands
 " have perished thro' want, fatigue, merci-
 " less punishment, cruelty and barbarity.
 " If the blood of one man unjustly shed,
 " calls loudly for vengeance, how strong
 " must be the cry of that off so many unhap-
 " py creatures which is shedding daily?"——
 The good bishop concluded his speech, with
 imploring the king's clemency for subjects
 so unjustly oppressed; and bravely declared,
 that heaven would one day call him to an
 account, for the numberless acts of cruelty
 which he might have prevented. The king
 applauded the bishop's zeal; promised to
 second it; but so many of the great ones
 had an interest in continuing the oppression,
 that nothing was done; so that all the In-
 dians in Hispaniola, except a few who had

And hid themselves in the most inaccessible mountains, were destroyed.

C H A P. V.

First account of the English trading to Guinea. Thomas Windham and several others go to that coast. Some of the Negroes carried off by the English. Queen Elizabeth's charge to captain Hawkins respecting the natives: Nevertheless he goes on the coast and carries off some of the Negroes. Patents are granted. The king of France objects to the Negroes being kept in slavery: As do the college of Cardinals at Rome. The natives, an inoffensive people; corrupted by the Europeans. The sentiments of the natives concerning the slave-trade, from William Smith: Confirmed by Andrew Brue and James Barbot.

IT was about the year 1581, towards the latter end of the reign of King Edward the sixth, when some London merchants sent out the first English ship, on a trading voyage to the coast of Guinea; this was soon followed by several others to the same parts;

but

but the English not having then any plantations in the West Indies, and consequently no occasion for Negroes, such ships traded only for gold, Elephants teeth and Guinea pepper. This trade was carried on at the hazard of losing their ships and cargoes, if they had fallen into the hands of the Portuguese, who claimed an exclusive right of trade, on account of the several settlements they had made there. * In the year 1553, the first captain Thomas Windham trading along the coast with 130 men, in three ships, and sailing as far as Benin, which lies above 3000 miles down the coast, to take in a load of pepper. † Next year John Locke traded along the coast of Guinea, as far as D'Elmina, when he brought away considerable quantities of gold and ivory. He speaks well of the natives, and says, ‡ "*That whosoever will deal with them must behave civilly, for they will not traffic if ill used.*" In 1555, William Towerfon traded in a peaceable manner with the natives, who made some complaint to him of the Portuguese, who were then settled in their castle at D'Elmina, saying, "*They were bad men, who made them slaves if they could take them, putting irons on their legs.*"

This

* A. C. C. Collection, vol. 1 page, 122.

† Collection vol. 1. p. 143.

‡ Ibid. 157.

This bad example of the Portuguese, was soon followed by some evil disposed Englishmen, for the same captain Towerfon relates, “ † That in the course of his voyage, he
 “ perceived the natives, near D’Elmina, un-
 “ willing to come to him, and that he was
 “ at last attacked by them; which he un-
 “ derstood was done in revenge for the
 “ wrong done them, the year before, by
 “ one captain Gainsh, who had taken away
 “ the Negro captain’s son, and three others,
 “ with their gold &c. this caused them to
 “ join the Portuguese, notwithstanding
 “ their hatred of them, against the Eng-
 “ lish.” The next year captain Towerfon brought these men back again; whereupon the Negroes shew’d him much kindness. ‡ Quickly after this another instance of the same kind occurred, in the case of captain George Fenner, who, being on the coast with three vessels, was also attacked by the Negroes, who wounded several of his people, and violently carried three of his men to their town. The captain sent a messenger, offering any thing they desired for the ransom of his men; but they refused to deliver them, letting him know, “ That
 “ three weeks before, an English ship which
 “ came

† Collection, vol. 1. p. 148.

‡ Ibid. 157.

*“ came in the road, had carried off three of
 “ their people, and that till they were brought
 “ again they would not restore his men, even tho’
 “ they should give their three ships to release
 “ them.”* It was probably the evil conduct
 of these and some other Englishmen, which
 was the occasion of what is mentioned in
 Hill’s naval history, viz. *“ That when cap-
 “ tain Hawkins returned from his first voy-
 “ age to Africa, Queen Elizabeth sent for
 “ him, when she expressed her concern,
 “ lest any of the African Negroes should
 “ be carried off without their free consent;
 “ which she declared would be detestable;
 “ and would call down the vengeance of
 “ heaven upon the undertakers.”* Hawkins
 made great promises, which nevertheless he
 did not perform, for his next voyage to the
 coast appears to have been principally cal-
 culated to procure Negro slaves; in order
 to sell them to the Spaniards in the West In-
 dies; which occasioned the same author to
 use these remarkable words. *“ Here begins
 “ the horrid practice of forcing the Africans in-
 “ to slavery, an injustice and barbarity, which,
 “ so sure as there is vengeance in heaven for
 “ the worst of crimes will sometime be the de-
 “ struction of all who act or who encourage it.”*
 This captain Hawkins, afterwards sir John
 Hawkins, seems to have been the first Eng-
 lishman who gave public countenance to this

wicked traffic: For Anderson before mentioned, at page 401, says, " That in the
 " year 1562, captain Hawkins, assisted by
 " subscription of sundry gentlemen, now
 " fitted out three ships, and having learnt
 " that Negroes were a very good commo-
 " dity in Hispaniola, he sailed to the coast of
 " Guinea, took in Negroes, and sailed with
 " them for Hispaniola, where he sold them,
 " and his English commodities, and loaded
 " his three vessels with hides, sugar, and
 " ginger, &c. with which he returned
 " home, anno. 1563, making a profitable
 " voyage." As it proved a lucrative busi-
 " ness, the trade was continued by
 " Hawkins and others, as appears from the na-
 " val chronicle, page 55, where it is said,
 " That on the 18th of October, 1582, cap-
 " tain John Hawkins with, two ships of 700
 " and 140 tuns sailed for Africa, that on
 " the 8th December they anchored to the
 " south of Cape Verd, where the captain
 " manned the boat, and sent eighty men in
 " armour, in the country; to see if they
 " could take some Negroes, but the natives
 " flying from them, they returned to their
 " ships, and proceeded farther down the
 " coast; here they staid certain days, send-
 " ing their men ashore, in order, as the au-
 " thor says, to burn and spoil their towns
 " and take the inhabitants. The land they
 " observed

" observed to be well cultivated, there be-
 " ing plenty of grain and fruit of several
 " sorts, and the towns prettily laid out. On
 " the 25th, being informed by the Portu-
 " guese, of a town of Negroes called Sym-
 " ba, where there was not only a quantity
 " of gold, but 140 inhabitants, they resolv-
 " ed to attack it, having the Portuguese for
 " their guide; but by mismanagement
 " they lost but ten Negroes, having seven
 " of their own men killed and 27 wounded.
 " They then went farther down the coast,
 " when having procured a number of Ne-
 " groes, they proceeded to the West Indies,
 " where they sold them to the Spaniards."
 " And in the same naval chronicle, at page 76,
 " it is said " That in the year 1567, Francis
 " Drake, before performing his voyage
 " round the world, went with sir John
 " Hawkins, in his expedition to the coast
 " of Guinea, where taking in a cargo of
 " slaves, they determined to steer for the
 " Caribbee Islands." How queen Elizabeth
 " suffered so grievous an infringement of the
 " rights of mankind to be perpetrated by her
 " subjects, and how she was persuaded about
 " the 20th year of her reign, to grant patents
 " for carrying on a trade from the north part
 " of the river Senegal, to an hundred leagues
 " beyond Sierra Leona, which gave rise to the
 " African company, is hard to account
 " for,

for, any otherwise than to have arisen from the misrepresentation made to her of the situation of the Negroes, and of the advantages, it was pretended, they would reap from being made acquainted with the christian religion. This was the case of Lewis the 13th, king of France, who Labat, in his account of the isles of America, tells us, " Was extremely uneasy at a law by which
 " the Negroes of his colonies were to be
 " made slaves; but it being strongly urged
 " to him, as the readiest means for their
 " conversion to christianity, he acquiesced
 " therewith." Nevertheless, some of the christian powers did not so easily give way in this matter, for we find, " † The cardinal
 " nal Cibo, one of the Pope's principal ministers of state, wrote a letter on behalf
 " of the college of cardinals or great council at Rome, to the missionaries in Congo, complaining that the pernicious and abominable abuse of selling slaves was yet continued; requiring them to remedy the same if possible, but this the missionaries
 " saw little hopes of accomplishing, by reason that the trade of the country lay
 " wholly in slaves and ivory."

From the foregoing accounts, as well as other authentick publications of this kind, it appears that, it was the lust of unwarrantable

gain, which first stimulated the Portuguese, and afterwards other Europeans, to engage in this horrid traffick. By the most authentic relations of those early times the natives were an inoffensive people, who when civilly used, traded amicably with the Europeans. ~~It~~ recorded of those of Benin, the largest kingdom in Guinea, † *That they were a gentle loving people.* and Reynold says, “ † *They found more sincere proofs of love and good will from the natives, than they could find from the Spaniards and Portuguese, even tho’ they had relieved them from the greatest misery.*” And from the same relations there is no reason to think otherwise but ~~that~~ they generally lived in peace amongst themselves; for I don’t find, in the numerous publications I have perused on this subject, relating to these early times, of there being wars on that coast, nor of any sale of captives taken in battle, who would have been otherwise sacrificed by the victors * : Not-

G 2

withstanding

† Collection, vol. 1. page 202.

† Item. 245.

* Note, this plea falls of itself, for if the Negroes apprehended they should be cruelly put to death, if they were not sent away, why do they manifest such reluctance and dread, as they generally do at being brought from their native country? William Smith at page 26, says, “ *The Gambians when free, and will accept any thing, tho’ never so desperate, to escape*” and

withstanding some modern authors, in their publications, relating to the West Indies, desirous of throwing a veil over the iniquity of the slave trade, have been hardy enough, upon meer supposition or report, to assert the contrary.

It was long after the Portuguese had made a practice of violently forcing the natives of Africa into slavery, that we read of the different Negroe nations making war upon each other, and selling their captives. And probably this was not the case, till those bordering on the coast, who had been used to supply the vessels with necessaries, had become corrupted, by their intercourse with the Europeans, and were excited by drunkenness and avarice to join them in carrying on those wicked schemes; by which those unnatural wars were perpetrated; the inhabitants kept in continual alarms; the country laid waste; and as William Moor expresses it, *Infinite numbers sold into slavery*; but that the Europeans are the principal cause of these devastations, is particularly evidenced by one, whose connection with the trade would

Thomas Philips in his account of a voyage he performed to the coast of Guinea, writes, " *They, the Negroes*
are so leath to leave their own country, that they have often
leaped out of the canoes, boats or ship into the sea, and lay
under water till they were drowned in cold being taken up"

would rather induce him to represent it in the fairest colours, to wit, William Smith, the person sent in the year 1726, by the African company to survey their settlements, who, from the information he received of one of the factors, who had resided ten years in that country, says, " † That the de-
 " cerning natives account it their greatest im-
 " happiness that they were ever visited by the
 " Europeans."—" That we christians intro-
 " duced the traffick of slaves, and that before
 " our coming they lived in peace."

In the accounts relating to the African trade, we find this melancholy truth farther asserted, by some of the principal directors in the different factories, particular-
 ly A. Bruce says, " † That the Europeans were
 " far from desiring to act as peace-makers a-
 " mongst the Negroes, which would be acting
 " contrary to their interest, since the greater the
 " wars the more slaves were procured." And
 William Bosman also remarks, " ‡ That one
 " of the former commanders gave large sums
 " of money to the Negroes of one nation to induce
 " them to attack some of the neighbouring na-
 " tions, which occasioned a battle which was
 " more bloody than the wars of the Negroes usu-
 " ally

" ally are." This is confirmed by J. Bar-
 bot, who says, " That the country of D'El-
 mina, which was formerly very powerful and
 populous, was in his time so much drained of
 its inhabitants, by the intestine wars, fo-
 mented amongst the Negroes by the Dutch,
 that there did not remain enough inhabitants
 to till the country."

C H A P. VI.

The conduct of the Europeans and Africans compared. Slavery more tolerable amongst the ancients than in our colonies. As christianity prevailed amongst the barbarous nations, the inconsistency of Slavery became more apparent. The charters of manumission, granted in the early times of christianity, founded on an apprehension of duty to God. The ancient Britons and other European nations, in their original state, no less barbarous than the Negroes. Slaves in Guinea used with much greater lenity than the Negroes are in the colonies. ——— Note, How the slaves are treated in Algiers; as also in Turkey.

SUCH is the woeful corruption of human nature, that every practice which flatters our pride and covetousness, will find its advocates; this is manifestly the case in the matter before us: the savageness of the Negroes, in some of their customs, and particularly their deviating so far from the feelings of humanity, as to join in capturing

and selling each other, gives their interested oppressors a pretence for representing them as unworthy of liberty, and the natural rights of mankind; but these sophisters turn the argument full upon themselves, when they instigate the poor creatures to such shocking impiety, by every means that satanick subtilty can suggest; thereby shewing in their own conduct a more glaring proof of the same depravity, and, if there was any reason in the argument, a greater unsuitness for the same precious enjoyment; for though some of the ignorant Africans may be thus corrupted by their intercourse with the baser of the European natives, and the use of strong liquors, this is no excuse for high professing christians, (bred in a civilized country, with so many advantages unknown to the Africans; and pretending to a superior degree of gospel light,) Nor can it justify them in raising up fortunes to themselves, from the misery of others, and calmly projecting voyages for the sale of men, naturally as free as themselves; and who, they know, are no otherwise to be procured, than by such barbarous means, as none but those hardened wretches who are lost to every sense of christian compassion, can make use of. Let us diligently compare and impartially weigh the situation of those ignorant Negroes, and these enlightened christians;

christians; then lift up the scale and say which of the two are the greater savages.

Slavery has been of a long time in practice in many parts of Asia; it was also in usage among the Romans when that empire flourished; but, except in some particular instances, it was rather a reasonable servitude, so ~~ways~~ comparable to the unreasonable and unnatural service extorted from the Negroes in our colonies. A late learned author * speaking of those times which succeeded the dissolution of that empire acquaints us, that as christianity prevailed, it very much removed those wrong prejudices and practices, which had taken root in darker times: after the irruption of the northern nations, and the introduction of the feudal or military government; whereby the most extensive power was lodged in a few members of society, to the depression of the rest; the common people were little better than slaves, and many were indeed such: but as christianity gained ground, the gentle spirit of that religion, together with the doctrines it teaches, concerning the original equality of mankind; as well as the impartial eye with which the almighty regards men of every condition, and admits them to participation of his benefits; so far manifested

set the inconsistency of slavery with christianity, that to set their fellow christians at liberty was deemed an act of piety, highly meritorious and acceptable to God. *
Accordingly

* In the years 1315 and 1318 Louis and his brother Philip, kings of France, issued an edict, declaring, " That as all men were by nature free born, and as their kingdom was called the kingdom of Franks, they determined that it should be so in reality, as well as in name: therefore they appointed that enfranchisements should be granted throughout the whole kingdom, upon just and reasonable conditions." " These edicts were carried into immediate execution within the royal domain."

In England as the spirit of liberty gained ground, the very name and idea of personal servitude, without any formal interposition of the legislature to prohibit it was totally banished."

" The effects of such a remarkable change in the condition of so great a part of the people, could not fail of being considerable and extensive: The husbandman, master of his own industry, and secure of reaping for himself the fruits of his labour, became a farmer of the same field where he had formerly been compelled to toil for the benefit of another: The odious name of master and of slave, the most mortifying and depressing of all distinctions to human nature, were abolished. New prospects opened, and new incitements to ingenuity and enterprise presented themselves, to those who were oppressed. The expectation of bettering their condition, as well as that of raising themselves to a more respectable condition, concurred in calling forth their activity and genius; and a numerous class of men,

Accordingly a great part of the charters granted for the manumission or freedom of slaves about that time, are granted *pro amore Dei, for the love of God, pro mercede anime, to obtain mercy to the soul.* Manumission was frequently granted on death bed, or by ~~other~~ wills. As the minds of men are at that time ~~exalted~~ ^{exalted} to sentiments of humanity and piety, these deeds proceeded from religious motives. The same author remarks, That there are several forms of those manumissions, ~~of~~ ^{of} extent, all of them founded on religious considerations; and in order to procure the favour of God. Since that time the practice of keeping men in slavery gradually ceased amongst christians, till it was renewed in the case before us. And as the prevalence of the spirit of christianity caused men to emerge from the darkness they then lay under, in this respect; so it is much to be feared, that so great a deviation therefrom, by the encouragement given to the slavery of the Negroes in our colonies, if continued, will by degrees reduce those countries which opposed and encourage it; but more immediately

“who formerly had no political existence, and were employed merely as instruments of labour, become useful citizens, and contributed towards augmenting the force or riches of the society which adopted them as members.” William Robertson's History of Charles the 5th. 1 vol. p. 35.

directly those parts of America which are in the practice of it, to the ignorance and barbarity of the darkest ages.

If instead of making slaves of the Negroes, the nations who assume the name and character of christians, would use their endeavours to make the nations of Africa acquainted with the nature of the christian religion, to give them a better sense of the true use of the blessings of life, the more beneficial arts and customs would, by degrees, be introduced amongst them; this care probably would produce the same effect upon them, which it has had on the inhabitants of Europe, (formerly as savage and barbarous as the natives of Africa.) These cruel wars amongst the blacks would be likely to cease, and a fair and honorable commerce, in time, take place throughout that vast country. It was by these means that the inhabitants of Europe, though formerly a barbarous people, became civilized. Indeed the account Julius Cæsar gives of the ancient Britains in their state of ignorance is not such as should make us proud of ourselves, or lead us to despise the unpolished nations of the earth. For he informs us, " That they lived in nakedness, like our Indians, being clad with skins, painting their bodies, &c." He also adds, " That they brother with brother,"

" and,

“ and parents with children had wives in common.” A greater barbarity than any heard of amongst the Negroes. Nor doth Tacitus give a more honourable account of the Germans, from whom the Saxons, our immediate ancestors, sprung. The Danes, who succeeded them, (who may also be numbered among our progenitors) were full as bad, if not worse.

It is usual for people to advance as a palliation in favour of keeping the Negroes in bondage, that there are slaves in Guinæa, and that those amongst us might be so in their own country; but let such consider the inconsistency of our giving any countenance to slavery because the Africans, whom we esteem a barbarous and savage people, allow of it, and perhaps the more from our example. Had the professors of Christianity acted indeed as such, they might have been instrumental to convince the Negroes of their error in this respect; but even this, when inquired into, will be to us an occasion of blushing, if we are not hardened to every sense of shame, rather than a palliation of our iniquitous conduct, as it will appear that the slavery endured in Guinæa, and other parts of Africa, and in Asia, is by

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no

the history of the piratical states of Barbary, printed in 1750, said to be wrote by a person who resided

no means so grievous as that in our colonies. William Moor speaking of the natives living

sided at Algiers, in a public character, at page 265 the author says, "The world exclaims against the Algerines for their cruel treatment of their slaves, and for their employing even tortures to convert them to mahometanism: but this is a vulgar error, carefully propagated for selfish views. So far are their slaves from being ill used, that they must have committed some very great fault to suffer any punishment. Neither are they forced to work beyond their strength, but rather spared lest they should fall sick. Some are so pleased with their situation that they will not purchase their ransom, though they are able." It's the same generally through the mahometan countries, except in some particular instances, as that of Muley Ishmael late emperor of Morocco, who being naturally barbarous, frequently used both his subjects and slaves with cruelty. Yet even under him the usage the slaves met with was, in general, much more tolerable than that of the Negro slaves, in the West Indies. Captain Braithwaite, an author of credit, who accompanied consul general Belfai, in a congratulatory embassy to Muley Ishmael's successor, upon his accession to the throne, says, "The situation of the christian slaves in Morocco was not near so bad as represented.—That it was true they were kept at labour by the late emperor, but not harder than our daily labourers go through.—Masters of ships were never obliged to work, nor sick at had but a small matter of money to give the Alcaide.—When sick they had a religious brother appointed for them to go to, where they were well attended: and whatever money, in charity was

living on the river Gambia, † says, " That
 " some of the Negroes have many House
 " slaves, which is their greatest glory ;
 " that those slaves live so well and easy,
 " that it is sometimes a hard matter to
 " know the slaves from their masters or
 " mistresses. And that though in some
 " parts of Africa, they sell their slaves born
 " in the family, yet on the river Gambia
 " they think it a very wicked thing."
 The author adds, " He never heard of but
 " one, that ever sold a family slave, except
 " for such crimes as they would have been
 " sold for, if they had been free." And in
 " Volney's collection speaking of the customs of
 " the Negroes in that large extent of country
 " further

" sent them by their friends in Europe to
 " their own." Braitwaite's revelation of the
 " Lady Montague, wife of the English Ambassador
 " Constantinople, in her letters vol. 1. p. 101.
 " I know you expect I should say something
 " of the slaves; and you will imagine me a
 " Turk, when I don't speak of it with the same
 " run other Christians have done before me; I
 " cannot forbear applauding the humanity of the
 " Turks to these creatures, they are not ill used, and
 " their slavery, in my opinion, is not more cruel than
 " that all over the world. It's true they have
 " no money, but they give them yearly clothing
 " and some other salaries so our Christians

further down the Coast particularly denomi-
 nated the Coast of Guinea, It is said, " They
 " have not many slaves on the Coast,
 " none but the king or nobles are permitted
 " to buy or sell any, so that they are allow-
 " ed only what are necessary for their fami-
 " lies, or tilling the ground," the same
 author adds, " That they generally use their
 " slaves well, and seldom correct them."

CHAP. VII.

Montesquieu's sentiments on slavery.

iv. Moderation enjoined by the Mo-
 saic law in the punishment of offenders.
 Morgan Godwyn's account of the con-
 tempt and grievous rigour exercised
 upon the Negroes in his time. Account
 from Jamaica relating to the inhuman
 treatment of them there. Bad effects
 attendant on slave keeping; as well to
 the masters as the slaves. Extracts from
 several laws relating to Negroes. Rich-
 ard Baxter's sentiments on slave keeping.

THAT celebrated civilian Montesquieu,
 in his treatise on the spirit of laws, on
 the article of slavery says, " It is rather

" useful to the master nor slave; is the slave,
 " because he can do nothing through principle
 " (or virtue,) to the master because he con-
 " tracts with his slave all sorts of bad habits,
 " insensibly accustoms himself to want all
 " moral virtues, becomes, haughty, hasty, hard
 " hearted, passionate, voluptuous and cruel.
 The lamentable truth of this assertion was
 quickly verified in the English plantations.
 When the practice of slave keeping was in-
 troduced, it soon produced its natural
 effects; it reconciled men of otherwise good
 dispositions to the most hard and cruel
 measures. It quickly proved what under
 the law of Moses was apprehended would
 be the consequence of unmerciful chastise-
 ments. Deut. xxv. 2. " And it shall be if
 " the wicked man be worthy to be beaten, that
 " the judge shall cause him to lie down, and to
 " be beaten before his face, according to his
 " fault, by a certain number; forty stripes he
 " may give him and not exceed." And the
 reason rendered is out of respect to human
 nature, viz. " Lest if he should exceed and
 " beat him above these with many stripes, then
 " thy brother should seem vile unto thee." As
 this effect soon followed the cause, the cruel-
 est measures were adopted, in order to make
 the most of the poor wretches labour; and in
 the minds of the masters such an idea was
 planted of inferiority in the nature of these
 H 3. their

stirred up that good Bishop of Chaps to
plead with so much energy the kindred cause
of

The children of their parents, their neighbours and the
people with whom they converse, working upon their
minds, and they from thence conceiving wrong ideas
of things, and modes of conduct, the entrance into
their hearts become in a great measure shut up against
all gentle workings of uncreated purity.

From one way to another the gloom grows thicker
and darker, till error gets established by general consent,
not that it ever attends to perfect goodness and re-
mains under the melting influence of it, finds a path
to many, and sees the necessity to lean up
on the arm of divine strength, and dwell there, as
with a son, in the right, committing their souls to
him, who is a refuge to his people. Negroes are our
brethren, and their present condition among
us is a serious consideration. We know not
where those souls, in which millions are
lost every year. The parent of mankind is gracious,
and cares for his smallest creatures; and a multi-
tude of millions escape not his notice; and therefore they
are not stepped down and despised, but are raised
up, and their affliction, and lowliness, and
the steadily increasing exaltation of the oppressed.
He moves the channel of power, humbles the
mighty people, and gives deliverance to the oppressed.
All things are consistent with his infinite power
and goodness. And wherever gain is pursued, it
is a thing publicly acknowledged, that
wickedness is the root, and source
of the inhabitants of a country; there is
a sorrow to all such, who love a
true principle, and wisely consider the
things." Consideration on the
Woolman, part 2 p. 50.

of the Indians of America, an hundred and fifty years before, was equally operating about a century past on the minds of some of the well disposed of that day; amongst others this worthy clergyman, having been an eye witness of the oppression and cruelty exercised upon the Negro and Indian slaves, endeavoured to raise the attention of those in whose power it might be to procure their relief; amongst other matters in his address to the Archbishop, he remarks in substance, " That the people of the of island Barbadoes were not content with exercising the greatest hardness and barbarity upon the Negroes, in making them most of their labour, without any regard to the calls of humanity; but that they had suffered from a slight and undervalument to prevail in their minds, towards these their oppressed fellow creatures, as to discourage any step being taken whereby they might be made acquainted with the christian religion. That their conduct towards their slaves was such as gave him reason to believe, that either they had suffered from a spirit quite contrary to the nature of the gospel, to prevail in them; or that it must be their established opinion, that the Negroes had no more souls than brutes; that hence they concluded, that they were neither susceptible of religion, nor

" preffions, nor fit objects for the redeeming
 " grace of God to operate upon. They
 " under this persuasion and from a disposi-
 " tion of cruelty, they treated them
 " with less humanity than they did
 " their cattle: for says he, they do not
 " take care of their horses, which they expect
 " should both carry and credit them on the
 " market; nor pinch the cow, by whose milk
 " they are sustained. which yet so their
 " servants, is too frequently the lot and
 " condition of those poor people, from whose
 " labour their wealth and livelihood doth
 " consist. Not only in their diet, but in
 " their clothing and overworking some of
 " them to death; which is particularly
 " the case of the most innocent and labo-
 " rious, but also in tormenting and whip-
 " ping them almost and sometimes quite to
 " death, upon even small miscarriages. He
 " apprehends it was from this prejudice
 " against the Negroes that arose those igno-
 " minious checks and frowns he frequently
 " met with, when using innocent argu-
 " ments and persuasions in the way of his
 " ministry as a minister of the gospel, to labour
 " for the conviction and conversion of
 " the Negroes; being repeatedly told, with
 " scornful scoffs, (even by some christi-
 " an religious,) that the Negroes were not
 " susceptible of receiving benefit, or
 " becoming

" Becoming members of the church; that
 " their dogs and bitches; the usual answer
 " he received when exhorting their masters
 " to do their duty in that respect, being,
 " *What these black dogs be made christian?*
 " *what they be made like us, with abundance*
 " *more of the same?* Nevertheless, he re-
 " marks that the Negroes were capable
 " not only of being taught to read and
 " write, &c. but divers of them eminent
 " in the management of business. He de-
 " clares them to have an equal right with
 " us to the merits of Christ; of which, if
 " through neglect or avarice, they are de-
 " prived, - that judgment which was de-
 " nounced against wicked Ahab, must
 " befall us: *Our life shall go for theirs.* The
 " loss of their souls will be required at our
 " hands, to whom God hath given so blessed
 " an opportunity of being instrumental to
 " their salvation."

" He complains, " That they were suffer-
 " ed to live with their women in no
 " better way than direct fornication; no
 " care being taken to oblige them to con-
 " tinue together when married; but that
 " they were suffered at their will, to leave
 " their wives and take to other women. I
 " shall conclude this sympathizing clergy-
 " man's observations with an instance he
 " brings, to shew that not only discor-
 " dancy

44 ragements and scoffs; at that time
 45 prevailed in Barbadoes, to establish an
 46 opinion that the Negroes were not cap-
 47 ble of religious impressions; but that even
 48 violence and great abuses were used to
 49 prevent any thing of that kind taking
 50 place. It was in the case of a poor Negro,
 51 who having in his own wretch, prevail-
 52 ed on a clergyman to administer baptism
 53 to him, on his return home, the brutal
 54 overseer took him to task, giving him to
 55 understand that that was no Sundays
 56 work for those of his complexion, that he
 57 had other duties for him, the neglect
 58 thereof should cost him an afternoon's
 59 baptism or more, as he in the morning
 60 had received a baptism with water, (these
 61 says the parson were his own words.)
 62 which he accordingly made good, of
 63 which the Negroe complained at first,
 64 and he to the governor: notwithstanding
 65 the poor miserable creature was ever af-
 66 ter so unmercifully treated by that infer-
 67 nal wretch, the overseer, that to avoid
 68 his cruelty, betaking himself to the woods,
 69 he there perished." This instance is ap-
 70 plicable to none but the cruel persecutors,
 71 and yet it is an instance of what, in a greater
 72 or less degree, may frequently happen when
 73 these poor wretches are left to the will of
 74 such brutal incivilized creatures as their
 75 officers

overseers often are. This is confirmed in
 the *History of Jamaica* wrote in thirteen let-
 ters, about the year 1740, by a person then
 residing in that island who writes, as
 follows, " I shall not now enter upon the
 question whether the slavery of the Ne-
 gros be agreeable to the laws of nature
 or not, though it seems extremely hard
 they should be reduced to slave and sold
 for the benefit of others, without the least
 advantage to themselves. Happy is the island
 where slavery is never known; where liber-
 ty and freedom cheer every misfortune.
 here (says the author) we boast of no
 such blessing; we have at least ten slaves
 to one freeman. I incline to touch the
 hardships which these poor creatures
 suffer, in the tenderest manner, from
 a particular regard which I have to
 many of their masters; but I cannot con-
 ceal their sad circumstances intirely: the
 most trivial error is punished with terri-
 ble whipping. I have seen some of them
 treated in that cruel manner, for no other
 reason but to satisfy the brutish pleasure
 of an overseer, who has their punishment
 mostly at his discretion. I have seen their
 bodies all in a gore of blood, the skin
 torn off their backs with the cruel whip;
 beaten pepper and salt, rubbed in the
 wounds, and a large stick of sealing wax
 dropped

dropped leisurely upon them. It is no
 wonder, if the horrid pain of such injuries
 man tortures incline them to rebel. Most
 of these slaves are brought from the coast
 of Guinea: When they first arrive, it is
 observed they are simple and very innocent
 creatures; but soon turn to be
 rough enough. And when they come to
 be whipped, take the example of the whites
 for an excuse of their faults.

These accounts of the deep depravity of
 mind attendant on the practice of slavery,
 verify the truth of Montesquieu's remarks of
 its pernicious effects. And altho' the same
 degree of opposition to instructing the Ne-
 groes may not now appear in the islands as
 formerly; especially since the society ap-
 pointed for propagating the Gospel have
 collected numbers of Negroes in one of them;
 nevertheless the situation of these oppressed
 people is yet dreadful, as well to themselves,
 as in its consequences to their hard task-mas-
 ters, and their offspring, as must be evident
 to every impartial person who is acquainted
 with the treatment they generally receive,
 and with the laws which from time to time
 have been made in the colonies, with respect
 to the Negroes; some of them being absolute-
 ly inconsistent with reason, and shocking
 to humanity. By the 329th act of the as-
 sembly of Barbadoes, page 125, it is en-

ed. " That if any Negroe or other slave suffer
 punishment, by his master or his order,
 der, for running away, or any other
 crime or misdemeanors, towards his said
 master, unfortunately shall suffer in life
 or member, (which seldom happens,) no
 person whatsoever shall be liable to any
 fine therefore. But if any person, through
 wantonness, or only of bloody-mindedness,
 cruel intention, willfully kill a Negro or
 slave of his own, he shall pay into the public
 treasury, fifteen pounds sterling." Now that
 the life of a man should be so lightly valued,
 as that fifteen pounds should be judged a
 sufficient indemnification of the murder of
 a man, even when it is avowedly done
 fully, wantonly, cruelly or of bloody-mindedness,
 is a tyranny hardly to be paralleled; never-
 theless human laws cannot make void the
 righteous law of God, or prevent the in-
 quiry of that awful judgment day, when
 at the hand of every man's brother the life of
 man shall be required." By the law of
 South-Carolina, the person that killeth a
 Negro is only subject to a fine or, at the
 most, his imprisonment: It is the same in
 most, if not all the West-Indies. And by an
 act of the assembly of Virginia, (4 Ann. Ch.
 sect. 27. p. 227.) After proclamation is
 issued against slaves. " That run away
 and lie out, it is lawful for any person whom
 " found

" ~~shall~~ kill and destroy such slaves, by such
 " ways and means, as he, she or they shall
 " think fit, without accusation or impeachment
 " of any crime for the same."—And lest pri-
 " vate interest should incline the planter to
 " do so, it is provided, " That every slave so
 " taken in pursuance of this act, shall be paid
 " for by the publick."

Notwithstanding, a like sense of sympathy
 " was expressed by Morgan Godwyn,
 " mentioned, for the oppressed Negroes,
 " and his zeal for the cause of religion, so ma-
 " nifestly trampled upon in the case of the
 " Negroes, which induced Richard Baxter, an
 " eminent preacher amongst the dissenters in
 " that country, in his *christian directory*, to
 " describe himself as follows, viz. " Do you
 " mark how God hath followed you with
 " his signs, and may not conscience tell you,
 " that it is for your inhumanity to the souls
 " and bodies of men."—" To go as pri-
 " vates and catch up poor Negroes, or people
 " of another land, that never forfeited life
 " or liberty, and to make them slaves, and
 " sell them, is one of the worst kinds of
 " thievery in the world; and such persons,
 " are to be taken for the common enemies
 " of mankind, and they that buy them and
 " use them as beasts for their meer commodi-
 " ty, and betray, or destroy, or neglect them."

“ souls, are fitter to be called devils incarnate
“ than christians : It is an heinous sin to buy
“ them, unless it be in charity to deliver
“ them. Undoubtedly they are presently
“ bound to deliver them, because by right
“ the man is his own, therefore no man else
“ can have a just title to him.”

C H A P. VIII.

Griffith Hughes's account of the number of Negroes in Barbadoes, cannot keep up their usual number without a yearly recruit. Excessive hardships wears the Negroes down in a surprising manner. A servitude without a condition, inconsistent with reason and natural justice. The general usage the Negroes meet with in the West Indies. Inhuman calculations of the strength and loss of the Negroes. Dreadful consequences which may be expected from the cruelty exercised upon this oppressed part of mankind.

WE are told by Griffith Hughes, rector of St. Lucy in Barbadoes, in his natural history of that island, printed in the year 1750, "That there was between sixty five and seventy thousand Negroes at that time, in the island, tho' now they had a greater number: That in order to keep up a necessary number, they were obliged to have a yearly importation from Africa: That the hard labour, and

" want of necessaries, which these unhappy
 " creatures are obliged to undergo, destroy a
 " greater number than are bred there." He
 " adds, " That the capacities of their minds
 " in common affairs of life are but little in-
 " ferior, if at all, to those of the Europeans,
 " If they fail in some arts, he says, it may
 " be owing more to their want of education
 " and the depression of their spirits by sla-
 " very, than to any want of natural abili-
 " ties." This destruction of the human
 " species, thro' unnatural hardships, and want
 " of necessary supplies, in the case of the Ne-
 " groes is farther confirmed in an account of
 " the European settlements in America, printed
 " London, 1757, where it is said, par. 1. chap.
 " 1. 11. " The Negroes in our colonies en-
 " dure slavery more compleat, and attend-
 " ed with far worse circumstances, than
 " what any people in their condition suffer
 " in any other part of the world
 " or have suffered in any other period of
 " time: Proofs of this are not wanting.
 " The prodigious waste which we experience
 " in this unhappy part of our species, is a
 " full and melancholy evidence of this
 " truth. The island of Barbadoes (the Ne-
 " groes upon which do not amount to eight
 " or ten thousand) notwithstanding all the
 " means which they use to encrease their
 " propagation, and that the climate is

" in every respect (except that of being
 " more wholesome) exactly resembling the
 " climate from whence they come; not-
 " withstanding all this, Barbadoes lies under
 " a necessity of an annual recruit of five
 " thousand slaves, to keep up the stock at
 " the number I have mentioned. This pro-
 " digious failure, which is at least in the
 " same proportion in all our islands, shews
 " demonstratively that some uncommon and
 " insupportable hardship lies upon the Ne-
 " groes, which wears them down in such a
 " surprising manner."

In an account of part of North America,
 published by Thomas Jeffery 1761, the au-
 thor speaking of the usage the Negroes re-
 ceive in the West India islands, says, " It is
 " impossible for a human heart to reflect up-
 " on the servitude of these dregs of man-
 " kind, without in some measure feeling for
 " their misery, which ends ~~but~~ with their
 " lives.——Nothing can be more wretched
 " than the condition of this people. One
 " would imagine, they were framed to be
 " the disgrace of the human species, banish-
 " ed from their country, and deprived of
 " that blessing liberty, on which all other
 " nations set the greatest value; they are
 " a measure reduced to the condition of
 " beasts of burden. In general a few ex-
 " ceptions especially, are those who are

their night, which neither thence thence from
 the heat of the day, nor the extraordinary
 cold of the night, all their covering,
 their garments, &c.; their labour almost
 continual: they receive no wages, but
 have twenty lashes for the smallest fault.

A thoughtful person, who had an opportunity
 of observing the miserable condition of
 the Negroes, in one of our West India
 colonies, writes thus, "I must confess, my
 heart is torn to see the treatment which the

miserable creatures meet with, from their
 masters, with but few exceptions. They

suffer them most unmercifully, on small
 occasions you will see their heads

whipped and flogged; in those, they are
 treated as cattle, and on their heads,

as they continue to rebel, they are
 returned from killing them, and are

treated as beasts. They are as though they
 were not human beings, but as a race of

slaves, who have no rights, and
 are treated as beasts, and are

treated as beasts, and are
 treated as beasts, and are

" the sentence on our common parents
 " and through him on all succeeding genera-
 " tions, *That he and they should eat their*
 " *bread by the sweat of their brow*; yet does
 " it not stand recorded by the same eternal
 " truth, *That the labourer is worthy of his*
 " *hire*? It cannot be allowed, in natural
 " justice, that there should be a ~~service~~
 " trade without condition, a cruel, endless,
 " servitude. It cannot be reconcileable to
 " natural justice, that whole nations, nay
 " whole continents of men, should be de-
 " voted to do the drudgery of life for others,
 " be dragged away from their attachments
 " of relations and societies, and ~~be made to~~
 " ~~serve the appetite and pleasure of a race~~
 " of men, whose superiority has been ob-
 " tained by illegal force.

Sir Hans Sloan in the introduction to his
 natural history of Jamaica in the account he
 gives of the treatment the Negroes met with
 there, speaking of the punishment inflicted
 on them, says, page 56 " For rebellion the
 " punishment is burning them by nailing
 " them down on the ground, with crook-
 " ed sticks on every limb, and then apply-
 " ing the fire by degrees from the feet and
 " hands, burning them gradually ~~up to the~~
 " head, whereby *their pains are*
 " *past*. For crimes of a less nature, getting
 " or chopping off half the foot without

" — For negligence, they are usually
 " whipped by the overseers with lance-wood
 " switches. — After they are whipped
 " till they are raw, some put on their skins
 " pepper and salt to make them smart; at
 " other times their masters will drop melted
 " wax on their skins, and use several very
 " *exquisite torments.*" In that island the
 owners of the Negroe slaves let each have
 each a parcel of ground, and allow them half
 a day at the latter end of the week, which
 with the day appointed, by the divine
 junction, to be a day of rest and devotion
 to God, and which ought to be kept
 is the only time allowed them to till
 their ground. This with a few roots
 or other salt fish, is what is given for
 support. Their allowance for clothing on
 the island is seldom more than six or eight
 shabrigs each year. And in the
 northern colonies, where the piercing
 cold winds are long and sensibly felt, these
 poor Africans suffer much for want of suffi-
 cient cloathing, indeed some have none till
 they are able to pay for it by their labour.
 The time that the Negroes work in the
 West Indies, is from day break till noon;
 then again from two o'clock till dark, (dur-
 ing which time they are attended by over-
 seers who severely scourge those who appear
 in any idleness,) and before they are suf-
 fered

tend to go to their quarters, they have still
 something to do, as collecting herbage for
 the horses, gathering fuel for the stoves,
 &c. so that it is often past twelve before they
 can get home; when they have scarce time
 to grind and boil their Indian corn: whereby
 if their food was not prepared the evening
 before, it sometimes happens, that they
 are called again to labour before they can
 satisfy their hunger. And here no delay or
 excuse will avail for if they are not in the
 field immediately upon the usual notice,
 they must expect to feel the overseer's labo-
 rious whip, which lasts many months, they
 are obliged (by turns,) to work most of the
 day in the boiling house. Thus their
 constant desire of making the greatest
 use of the labour of their slaves, lay heavy
 burdens on them, and yet feed and clothe
 them very sparingly, and some scarce feed or
 clothe them at all; so that the poor creatures
 are obliged to shift for their living in the best
 manner they can, which occasions their
 being often killed in the neighbouring lands,
 for want of potatoes or other food, by
 their hunger. And if they take anything
 from the plantation they belong to, though
 under such pressing want, their owners will
 correct them severely, for taking what
 they have so hardly. And many of themselves

luxury and excess. It is a matter of astonishment how a people who, as a nation, are looked upon as generous and humane, and so much value themselves for their uncommon sense of the benefit of liberty, can live in the practice of such extreme oppression and inhumanity, without seeing the inconsistency of such conduct, and feeling great remorse. Nor is it less amazing to hear these men calmly making calculations about the strength and lives of their fellow men; in Jamaica if six in ten, of the new imported Negroes survive the seasoning, it is looked upon as a gaining purchase. And in most of the other plantations, if the Negroes live eight or nine years, their labour is reckoned a sufficient compensation for their cost. If calculations of this sort were made upon the strength and labour of beasts of burden it would not appear so strange, but even then a merciful man would certainly use his beast with more mercy than is usually shewn to the poor Negroes. Will not the groans, the dying groans, of this deeply afflicted and oppressed people reach heaven, and when the cup of iniquity is full, must not the inevitable consequence, be the pouring forth of the judgments of God upon their oppressors? *Alas!* is it not too manifest that this oppression has already long been the object of divine displeasure? For what heavier judgment,

judgment, what greater calamity can befall any people, than to become subject to that hardness of heart, that forgetfulness of God, and insensibility to every religious impression; as well as that general depravation of manners, which so much prevails in these colonies, in proportion as they have more or less enriched themselves at the expence of the blood and bondage of the Negroes.

It is a dreadful consideration, as a late author remarks, that out of the stock of eighty thousand Negroes in Barbadoes, there die every year, five thousand more than are born in that island; which failure is probably in the same proportion in the other islands.

In effect this people is under a necessity of being entirely renewed every sixteen years. And

what must we think of the management of a people, who far from increasing greatly, as those who have no loss by war ought to do, must in so short a time as sixteen years, without foreign recruits, be entirely consumed to a man. Is it not a christian doctrine, *that the labourer is worthy of his hire?* and hath not the Lord by the mouth of his prophet pronounced "*wo unto that man who buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong, who useth his neighbours service without wages, and giveth him nothing for his work?*" And yet the poor Negroe slaves are constrained, like the beasts, by

beating to work hard without hire or recompence, and receive nothing from the hand or their unmerciful masters, but such a wretched provision as will scarce support them under their fatigues. The intolerable hardships many of the slaves undergo are sufficiently proved by the shortness of their lives. — And who are these miserable creatures that receive such barbarous treatment from the planters? Can we resist our just indignation when we consider that they are undoubtedly *his brethren! his neighbours! the children of the same Father; and some of those for whom Christ died, as truly as for planter himself.* Let the opulent planter, merchant prove that his Negroe slave is not his brother; or that he is not his neighbour, in the scripture sense of these *relations*; and if he is not able to do so, how will he justify the buying and selling of his brethren, as if they were of no more consideration than his cattle? The wearing them out with continual labour, before they have lived out half their days? The severe whipping and torturing them even to death, if they resist his insupportable tyranny? Let the hardest slave-holder look forward to that tremendous day, when he must give an account to God of his stewardship, and let him seriously consider, whether at such a time, he thinks, he shall be able to satisfy himself.

himself, that any act of buying and selling, or the fate of war, or the birth of children, in his house, plantation, or territories, or any other circumstance whatever, can give him such an absolute property in the persons of men, as will justify his retaining them as slaves, and treating them as beasts. Let him diligently consider whether there will not always remain to the slave a *superior* property, at least to the fruit of his own labour; and more especially to his own person, that being which was given him by God, and which none but the giver can justly claim.

CHAP.

C H A P. IX.

THE advantage which would have accrued to the natives of Guinea, if the Europeans had acted towards them agreeable to the dictates of humanity and christianity. An insatiable desire of gain in the Europeans, the true occasion of the slave trade. Notice of the misrepresentations of the Negroes, by most authors, in order to palliate the iniquity of the slave trade. Those misrepresentations refuted, particularly with respect to the *Moster Negroes*.

FROM the foregoing accounts of the natural disposition of the Negroes, and the *iniquity* of most parts of Guinea, which are confirmed by authors of candour, who have wrote from their own knowledge, it may well be concluded, that the Negroes acquaintance with the Europeans might have been a happiness to them, if their lust had not only bore the sway, but had also acted the part of Christians, and used their reason by example as well as precept, to make them acquainted with the

glad tidings of the gospel; which breathes peace and good will to man, and with that change of heart, that redemption from sin, which christianity proposeth; innocence and love might then have prevailed, nothing would have been wanting to compleat the happiness of the simple Africans: but the reverse has happened; the Europeans forgetful of their duty, as men, and christians, have conducted in so iniquitous a manner, as must necessarily raise in the minds of the thoughtful and well disposed Negroes, the utmost scorn and detestation of the very name of christians. All other considerations have given way to an insatiable desire of gain, which has been the principal and moving cause of the most iniquitous and dreadful scene that was, perhaps, ever acted upon the face of the earth; instead of making use of that superior knowledge, with which the Almighty, the common parent of mankind, had favoured them, to strengthen the principle of peace and good will in the breasts of the incautious Negroes; the Europeans have, by their bad example, led them into excess of drunkenness, debauchery and avarice; whereby every passion of corrupt nature being inflamed, they have been easily prevailed upon to make war, and enslave one another; as well to furnish

to satisfy the greedy desire of
 gain in their professed employers; who in
 consequence have furnished them with protri-
 tious quantities of arms and ammunition.
 Thus they have been hurried into confusion,
 amidst all the excruciations of temporal
 misery; every thing, even the power of
 their kings, has been made subservient to
 this wicked purpose, far instead of being
 protectors of their subjects. Some of these
 rulers corrupted by the excessive love of
 splendour, and the tempting baits
 laid before them by the factors, have involun-
 tarily the liberties of their unhappy subjects, and
 are become their oppressors.

It may be necessary to observe, that
 the character we have of the inhabitants of
 Africa, is chiefly given by persons engag-
 ed in the trade, who, from self interested
 views, have described them in such colours
 as were least likely to excite compassion and
 respect, and endeavoured to reconcile to
 ourselves a violation of the rights of mankind
 on the minds of the purifiers; yet they
 cannot but allow the Negroes to be possessed
 of some good qualities, though they contrive
 to misrepresent them as little over them.
 A particular instance of this appears in the
 late collection of a vol. in 1781, where the au-
 thor speaking of the Mandingoes, describes
 them as a nation which is situated ge. and upon the

Senegal, after saying that they carry on
 commerce to all the neighbouring king-
 doms, and amass riches, adds, " That ex-
 cepting the vices peculiar to the blacks, they
 are a good sort of people, honest, hospi-
 table, just to their word, laborious, indu-
 trious and very ready to learn arts and
 sciences." Here it is difficult to imagine
 what vices can be peculiarly attendant on a
 people so well disposed as the author de-
 scribes these to be. With respect to the
 charge some authors have brought against
 them as being void of all natural affection,
 it is frequently contradicted by others: in
 the 2 vol. of the collec. p. 275, and says,
 the Negroes of North Guinea, and the
 Gold Coast, are said, to be fond of their Child-
 ren, whom they love with tenderness. And
 Bosman says p. 340, " Not a few in his
 country (viz. Holland) ~~fully~~ imagine,
 that parents here sell their children; men
 their wives, and one brother the other;
 but those who think so deceive them-
 selves; for this never happens on any
 other account but that of necessity, or
 some great crime." The same is repeated
 by J. Barbot, page 326, and also witnessed
 by Sir Hans Sloan, in the introduction to his
 natural history of Jamaica; where speaking
 of the Negroes, he says, " They are usually
 thought to be lovers of their own
 children."

“ children, and therefore 'tis believed that
 “ they sell and dispose of them to strangers
 “ for money: but this is not true, for the
 “ Negroes of Guinea being divided into
 “ several captainships, as well as the Indians
 “ of America, have wars, and besides those
 “ slain in battle, many prisoners are taken,
 “ who are sold as slaves and brought thither;
 “ but the parents here although their chil-
 “ ren are slaves for ever, yet have so great
 “ love for them, that no master dares sell,
 “ or give away one of their little ones,
 “ unless they care not whether their parents
 “ hang themselves or no.” J. Barbot

speaking of the occasion of the natives
 of Guinea being represented as a treacherous
 people, ascribe it to the Hollanders (and
 doubtless other Europeans) usurping autho-
 rity, and forming divisions between the
 Negroes. Average the sailors. “ It is well
 “ known that many of the European nations
 “ trading amongst these people, have very
 “ unphil- and inhumanly, without any
 “ provocation, stolen away, from time to
 “ time, abundance of the people, not only
 “ on this coast, but almost every where in
 “ Guinea who have come on board their
 “ ships in a harmless and sociable manner,
 “ that they have a great number carry-
 “ ed away, and sold at the plantations with
 “ other slaves, which they had purchased

And although some of the Negroes may be justly charged with intemperance and slothfulness, yet many others are frequently mentioned by authors as *a careful, industrious and even laborious people*. But nothing shews more clearly how unsafe it is to form a judgment of distant people from the accounts given of them by travellers, who have taken but a transient view of things, than the case of the Hottentots, viz. those several nations of Negroes who inhabit the most southern part of Africa: *these people* are represented, by several authors, who appear to have very much copied their relations one from the other, as so savage and barbarous as to have little of human, but the shape; but these accounts are strongly contradicted by others; particularly Peter Kolben has given a circumstantial relation of the disposition and manners of those people. † He was a man of learning, sent from the court of Prussia, solely to make astronomical and natural observations there; and having no interest in the slavery of the Negroes, had not the same inducements as most other relators had, to misrepresent the natives of Africa. He resided eight years at and about the Cape Good Hope, during which time he examined with great care into the customs, manners

and

and opinions of the Hottentots; whence he sets these people in a quite different light, from what they appeared in former authors, whom he corrects, and blames for the falsehoods they have wantonly told of them, at p. 61. he says, "The detail we have in several authors, are for the most part made up of inventions and hearsays, which generally prove false."--Nevertheless, he allows they are justly to be blamed for their sloth. *—The love of liberty and indolence is their all: compulsion is death to them. While necessity obliges them to work, they are very tractable, obedient and faithful; but when they have got enough to satisfy the present want, they are deaf to all further entreaty.* He also faults them for their nastiness, the effects of sloth, and for their love of drink; and the practice of some unnatural customs, which long use has established amongst them; which nevertheless, from the general good disposition of these people, there is great reason to believe they might be persuaded to refrain from; if a truly christian care had been extended towards them; he says, "They are eminently distinguished by many virtues, as their mutual benevolence, friendship and hospitality; they breathe kindness and good will, to one another; and seek all opportunities of obliging. Is a Hottentot's assistance required

" quired by one of his countrymen, he
 " runs to give it; Is his advice asked he
 " gives it with sincerity. Is his countryman
 " in want, he relieves him to the utmost of
 " his power." Their hospitality extends
 even to European strangers: in travelling
 through the Cape countries, you meet with
 a cheerful and open reception, in whatso-
 ever village you come to. In short he says,
 p. 339, " The integrity of the Hotten-
 " tots; their strictness and celerity in the
 " execution of justice, and their charity are
 " equalled by few nations. *In alliances their*
 " *word is sacred; there being hardly any thing,*
 " *they look upon as a squaler crime than breach of*
 " *engagements. Theft and adultery the pu-*
 " *nish with death.*" They firmly believe
 there is a God, the author of all things,
 whom they call the God of gods: but it
 does not appear that they have an institution
 of worship directly regarding this supreme
 Deity. When pressed on this article, they
 excuse themselves by a tradition, " *That*
 " *their first parents so grievously offended*
 " *this great God, that he cursed them and their*
 " *posterity with hardness of heart; so that*
 " *they know little about him, and have less in-*
 " *clination to serve him.*" (As has been al-
 ready remarked,) These Hottentots are the
 only Negroe nations bordering on the sea,
 we read of, who are not concerned in mak-
 ing

ing or keeping slaves. Those slaves made use of by the Hollanders at the Cape, are brought from other parts of Guinea. Numbers of these people told the author, “ That
 “ the vice they saw prevail amongst christ-
 “ tians ; their avarice, their envy and hat-
 “ red of one another ; their restless discon-
 “ tented tempers, their lasciviousness and
 “ injustice, were the things that principally
 “ kept the Hottentots from hearkening to
 “ christianity.”

Father Tachard a French jesuit famous for his travels in the E. st Indies, in his account of these people, says, “ The Hotten-
 “ tots have more honesty, love and libera-
 “ lity for one another, than are almost any
 “ where seen amongst christians.”

C H A P. X.

Man-stealing esteemed highly criminal and punishable by the laws of *Guinea* : No Negroes allowed to be sold for Slaves there but those deemed prisoners of war, or in punishment for crimes. Some of the Negroe rulers, corrupted by the Europeans, violently infringe the laws of *Guinea*. The king of *Barfallay* noted in that respect.

BY an enquiry into the laws and customs formerly in use and still in force amongst the Negroes, particularly on the Gold Coast, it will be found, that provision was made for the general peace, and for the safety of individuals ; even in *W. Bosman's* time, long after the Europeans had established the slave trade, the natives were not publicly enslaved, any otherwise than in punishment for crimes ; or when prisoners of war ; or by a violent exertion of the power of their corrupted kings. Where any of the natives were stolen, in order to be sold to the Europeans, it was done secretly, or at least only connived at by those in power ;

this appears from Barbot and Bosman's account of the matter, both agreeing that Man-stealing was not allowed on the Gold Coast. The first, † says, "*Kidnaping or stealing of human creatures is punished there, and even sometimes with death.*" And W. Bosman, whose long residence on the coast, enabled him to speak with certainty, says † "*That the laws were severe against murder, thievery and adultery;*" and adds, "*That man-stealing was punished on the Gold Coast with rigid severity, and sometimes with death itself.*" Hence it may be concluded, that the sale of the greatest part of the Negroes to the Europeans is supported by violence, in defiance of the laws, through the knavery of their principal men*, who, (as is too often the case with those in European countries) under pretence of encouraging trade, and increasing the public revenue, disregard the dictates of justice, and trample upon those liberties which they are appointed to preserve.

Fr. Moor also mentions, Man-stealing as being discountenanced by the Negro Governments.

† Barbot, page 253. † Bosman, page 143.

* Note. Barbot, page 270 says, the trade of slaves is in a more peculiar manner the business of kings, rich men and prime merchants, exclusive of the inferior sort of blacks.

verments on the river Gambia, and speaks
 of the enslaving the peccable inhabitants,
 as a violence, which only happens un-
 der a corrupt administration of justice;
 he says, "The kings of that country
 generally advise with their head men,
 scarcely doing any thing of consequence,
 without consulting them first, except
 the king of Barsilay, who being subject
 to hard drinking is very absolute. I. is
 to this king's insatiable thirst for brandy,
 that his subjects freedoms and fami-
 lies are in so precarious a situation;"
 Whenever this king wants goods or
 brandy, he sends a messenger to the Eng-
 lish Governor at James Fort, to desire he
 would send a sloop there with a cargo;
this news, being not at all unwelcome, the
 Governor sends accordingly; against the
 arrival of the sloop, the King goes and
 ransacks some of his enemies towns,
 seizing the people, and selling them for
 such commodities as he is in want of,
 which commonly is brandy, guns, pow-
 der, balls, pistols and cutlasses for his at-
 tendants and soldiers; and coral and sil-
 ver for his wives and concubines; in case
 he is not at war with any neighbouring
 king, he then falls upon ~~some~~ some of his own
 towns, which are numerous, and uses
 them in the same manner; He often

“ goes with some of his troops by a
 “ town in the day time, and returning in
 “ the night, sets fire to three parts of it, and
 “ putting guards at the fourth, there seizes
 “ the people as they run out from the fire,
 “ he ties their arms behind them, and
 “ marches them either to Joar or Colone,
 “ where he sells them to the Europeans.”

A. Brue, the French director gives much the same account, and says,* “ That
 “ having received goods he wrote to the
 “ King, that if he had a sufficient num-
 “ ber of slaves, he was ready to trade
 “ with him. This prince, as well as the
 “ other Negroe monarchs, has always a
 “ sure way of supplying his deficiencies, by
 “ selling his own subjects, for which they
 “ seldom want a pretence. The King had
 “ recourse to this method by seizing three
 “ hundred of his own people, and sent word
 “ to the director that he had the slaves rea-
 “ dy to deliver for the goods.” It seems,
 the King wanted double the quantity of
 goods, which the factor would give him
 for these three hundred slaves; ~~but the fac-~~
 tor refusing to trust him, as he was already
 in the company's debt, and perceiving that
 this refusal had put the king much out of
 temper, he proposed that he should give him
 a licence for taking so many more of his
 people, as the goods he still wanted were
 worth;

worth; but this the King refused, saying, "It might occasion a disturbance amongst his subjects."* Except in the above instance, and some others, where the power of the Negroe Kings are unlawfully exerted over their subjects; the slave trade is carried on in Guinea with some regard to the laws of the country, which allow of none to be sold but prisoners taken in their national wars, or people adjudged to slavery in punishments for crime; but the largeness of the

* Note. This Negroe king, thus refusing to comply with the Factor's wicked proposal, shews, he was sensible his own conduct was not justifiable; and it likewise appears the Factor's only concern was to procure the greatest number of slaves, without any regard to the injustice of the method, by which they were procured. This Andrew Brus, was, for a long time, principal director of the French African factory in those parts; in the management of which, he is in the collection said to have had extraordinary success. The part he ought to have acted as a Christian towards the ignorant Africans seems quite out of the question; the profit of his employers appears to have been his sole concern; at page 62, speaking of the country on the Senegal river, he says, "It was very populous, the soil rich, and if the people were instructed, they might, of their own produce, carry on a very advantageous trade with strangers; there being but few things in which they could be excelled." But, (he adds) it is to be expected the Europeans will never let them improve; A remark unbecoming humanity, much more christianity!

the country, the number of kingdoms or commonwealths, and the great encouragement given by the Europeans, afford frequent pretences and opportunities to the bold designing profligates of one kingdom to surprize and seize, not only upon those of a neighbouring government, but also the weak and helpless of their own;* and the unhappy people taken on those occasions, are, with impunity, sold to the Europeans. These practices are doubtless disapproved of by the most considerate amongst the Negroes, for Bosman acquaints us, that even their national wars are not agreeable to such. He says † “ If the person who occasioned the beginning of the war be taken, they will not easily admit him to ransom, though his weight in gold should be offered, for fear he should, in future, form some new design against their repose.”

C H A P.

* This inhuman practice is particularly described by Bruce, in Collect. Vol. II. page 98, where he says, “ That some of the natives, are, on all occasions, endeavouring to surprize and carry off their country people. They land (says he) without noise, and if they find a lone cottage without defence, they surround it, and carry off all the people and effects to their boat, and immediately re embark.” This seems to be mostly practised by some Negroes who dwell on the sea coast.

† Bosman, p. 135.

CHAP. XI.

An account of the shocking inhumanity used in the carrying on of the slave trade, as described by factors of different nations, viz. By Francis Moor on the river Gambia, and by John Barbot, A. Brue and William Bosman thro' the coast of Guinea. *Note.* Of the large revenues arising to the kings of Guinea from the slave trade.

FIRST Francis Moor, factor for the English African company on the river Gambia, † writes, " That there is a number of Negro traders called joncoes or merchants, who follow the slave trade, as a business, their place of residence is so high up in the country, as to be six weeks travel from James Fort, which is situate at the mouth of that river. These merchants bring down elephants teeth, and in some years two thousand slaves, most of which they say, are prisoners taken in war. They buy them from several different

different princes, who take them ; many
 of them are Bumbrongs and Petcharies ;
 nations, who each of them have different
 languages, and are brought from a vast
 way inland. Their way of bringing them
 is tying them by the neck, with leathern
 thongs, at about a yard distance from each
 other, thirty or forty in a string, having
 generally a bundle of corn or elephants
 teeth upon each of their heads. In their
 way from the mountains, they travel thro'
 very great woods, where they cannot for
 some days get water ; so they carry in skins
 bags enough to support them for a time.
 I cannot, (adds Moor) be certain of the
 number of merchants who follow this
 trade, but there may, perhaps, be about
 an hundred, who go up into the inland
 country, with the goods which they buy
 from the white men, and with them pur-
 chase, in various countries, gold, slaves,
 and elephants teeth. Besides the slaves
 which the merchants bring down, there
 are many bought along the river : These
 are either taken in war, as the former are,
 or men condemned for crimes ; or else peo-
 ple stolen, which is very frequent. Since the
 slave trade has been used all punishments
 are changed into slavery ; there being an
 advantage on such condemnation, they

strain

“ strain for crimes very hard, in order to get the benefit of selling the criminal.”

John Barbot, the French factor, in his account of the manner by which the slaves are procured, says, “ † The slaves sold by the Negroes, are for the most part prisoners of war, or taken in the incursions they make in their enemies territories; others are stolen away by their neighbours, when found abroad, on the road, or in the woods; or else in the corn fields, at the time of the year when their parents keep them there all the day to scare away the devouring small birds.”

Speaking of the transactions on that part of Guinea, called the Slave Coast, where the Europeans have the most factories, and from whence they bring away much the greatest number of slaves, the same author and also Bosman * says, “ The inhabitants of Coto do much mischief in stealing those slaves they sell to the Europeans from the upland country.—That the inhabitants of Popo, excell the former, being endowed with a much larger share of courage, they rob more successfully, by which means they increase their riches and trade:” The author particularly remarks,

† John Barbot, page 47.

* Bosman, page 310.

makes, " That they are encouraged in this
 " practice by the Europeans ; sometimes it
 " happens according to the success of their
 " inland excursions, that they are able to
 " furnish two hundred slaves or more in a
 " few days." And he says, " The blacks
 " of Fida, or Whydah are so expeditious in
 " trading for slaves, that they can deliver a
 " thousand every month." — " If there
 " happens to be no stock of slaves there,
 " the factor must trust the blacks with his
 " goods to the value of one hundred and
 " fifty, or two hundred pounds, which goods
 " they carry up into the inland country
 " to buy slaves at all markets *, for above
 " six

† Barbot, page 326.

* When the great income which arises to the Negroe kings on the Slave-Coast, from the slaves brought thro' their several governments to be shipped on board the European vessels, is considered, we have no cause to wonder that they give so great a countenance to that trade, William Schuman says, page 331. " That each ship which comes to Whydah to trade, returns home with another either by toll, trade or custom, says above four hundred pounds and sometimes five hundred comes hither in a year." Barbot confirms this in his addn, page 350. " That in the neighbouring kingdom of Ardash the duty to the king is the value of seventy slaves for each trading ship." Which is near half as much more as at Whydah, nor can the Europeans concerned in the trade with any degree of propriety blame the African Kings for countenancing it, while they

" six hundred miles up the country, where
 " they are kept like cattle in Europe; the
 " slaves sold there being generally prisoners
 " of war, taken from their enemies like
 " other booty, and perhaps some few sold
 " by their own country men, in extrem
 " want upon a famine, as also some as a
 " punishment of heinous crimes." So far
 " Barbot's account, that given by William
 " Bosman is as follows, " || When the slaves
 " which are brought from the inland coun-
 " tries, come to Whydah, they are put in
 " prison together, when we treat concern-
 " ing buying them, they are all brought out
 " together in a large plain, where, by our
 " surgeons, they are thoroughly examined,
 " and that, naked, both men and women,
 " without the least distinction or modesty."

Those

they continue to send vessels on purpose, to take in the
 slaves which are thus stolen, and that they are permit-
 ted under the sanction of national laws to sell them
 to the colonies.

Bosman, page 340.

Now from the above account of the indecent and
 filthy manner in which the unhappy Negroes are
 treated, it is reasonable for persons unacquainted with
 their condition to conclude them to be void of that natu-
 ral modesty, becoming a reasonable creature; but
 those who have had intercourse with the blacks in
 our Northern colonies know that this would be a
 wrong conclusion; for they are indeed as susceptible
 of modesty and shame as other people. It is the un-
 paralleled

" Those which are approved as good are set
 " on one side; in the mean while a burning
 " iron, with the arms or name of the com-
 " pany, lies in the fire, with which ours are
 " marked on the breast. When we have a-
 " greed with the owners of the slaves, they
 " are returned to their prisons, where from
 " that time forward they are kept at our
 " charge, cost us two pence a day, each
 " slave, which serves to subsist them like cri-
 " minals on bread and water, so that to
 " save

parallel'd brutality to which the Europeans have by
 long custom been inured, which urgeth them, without
 blushing, to act so shameful a part. Such usage is
 certainly grievous to the poor Negroes, particularly the
 women: but they are slaves, and must submit to this,
 or any other abuse that is offered them, by their cruel
 task-masters, or expect to be inhumanly tormented in-
 to acquiescence. That the blacks are unaccustomed
 to such brutality, appears from an instance mention-
 ed in Asley's Collection, vol. 2. page 301. viz.
 " At an audience which Caseneuve had of the king
 " of Congo, where he was used with a great deal of
 " civility by the blacks, some slaves were delivered
 " to him. The king observing Caseneuve (according
 " to the custom of the Europeans) to handle the
 " limbs of the slaves, burst out a laughing, at which
 " the great men about him: the factor asking the
 " interpreter the occasion of their mirth, was told
 " it proceeded from his so nicely examining the slaves.
 " Nevertheless the King was so ashamed of it that he de-
 " red him for decency's sake to do it in a more private man-
 " ner.

" save charges, we send them on board our
 " ships the very first opportunity, before
 " which their masters strip them of all they
 " have on their backs, so that they come on
 " board stark naked, as well women as
 " men. In which condition they are obliged
 " to continue, if the master of the ship is not
 " so charitable (which he commonly is) as to
 " bestow something on them to cover their
 " nakedness. Six or seven hundred are
 " sometimes put on board a vessel, where
 " they lie as close together as its possible for
 " them to be crowded."

CHAP. XII.

Extracts of several Journals of Voyages to the coast of Guinea for Slaves, whereby the extreme inhumanity of that traffick is described. *Melancholy* account of a ship blown up on that coast with a great number of Negroes on board. *Instances* of shocking barbarity perpetrated by masters of vessels towards their slaves. *Inquiry* why these scandalous infringements both of divine and human laws are overlooked by the government.

THE misery and bloodshed attendant on the slave trade, is set forth by the following extracts of two voyages to the coast of Guinea, for slaves. The first in a vessel from Liverpool, taken *verbatim* from the original manuscript of the Surgeon's Journal, viz.

“ *Sabbath*, December the 29th, 1724. No
 “ trade to day, though many traders came
 “ on board; they informed us, that the
 “ people are gone to war within land, and
 “ will bring prisoners enough in two or
 “ three days, in hopes of which we stay.”

The

The 30th. " No trade yet, but our traders came on board to day, and informed us the people had burnt four towns of their enemies, so that to-morrow we expect slaves off: another large ship is come in. Yesterday came in a large Londone."

The 31st. " Fair weather, but no trade yet: we see each night towns burning, but we hear the Sestro men are many of them killed by the inland Negroes, so that we fear this war will be unsuccessful."

The 2d of January. " Last night we saw a prodigious fire break out about eleven o'clock; and this morning see the town of Sestro burnt down to the ground; (it contained some hundreds of houses) so that we find their enemies are too hard for them at present, and consequently our trade spoiled here; therefore, about seven o'clock we weighed anchor, as did likewise the three other vessels, to proceed lower down."

The second relation, also taken from the original manuscript journal of a person of credit, who went surgeon on the same trade, in a vessel from New-York, about twenty years past, is as follows; viz. " Being on the coast, the Commander of the vessel, according to custom, sent a person on shore with a present to the King, acquainting him

him with his arrival, and letting him
 know, they wanted a cargo of slaves. The
 King promised to furnish them with
 slaves; and, in order to do it, set out to
 go to war against his enemies; designing
 to surprise some town, and take all the
 people prisoners: Some time after, the
 king sent them word, he had not yet met
 with the desired success; having been
 twice repulsed, in attempting to break up
 two towns; but that he still hoped to pre-
 cure a number of slaves for them; and in
 this design he persisted till he met his ene-
 mies in the field; where a battle was
 fought, which lasted three days, during
 which time the engagement was so bloody,
 that four thousand five hundred men
 were slain on the spot." The person who
 wrote the account beheld the bodies as
 they lay on the field of battle. "Think
 (says he in his Journal) what a pitiable
 sight it was to see the widows weeping
 over their lost husbands, orphans deplor-
 ing the loss of their fathers, &c. &c." In
 the 6th Vol. of Churchill's collection of Voy-
 ages, page 219, we have the relation of a
 voyage performed by Captain Philips, in a
 ship of 450 tons, along the coast of Guinea,
 for elephants teeth, gold, and Negro slaves,
 intended for Barbadoes; in which he says,
 that they took "seven hundred slaves on
 board."

" board, the men being all put in irons two
 " by two shackled together to prevent their
 " mutinying or swimming ashore. That the
 " Negroes are so loath to leave their own
 " country, that they often leap out of the
 " canoe, boat, or ship, into the sea, and
 " under water till they are drowned to
 " void being taken up, and saved by the
 " boats which pursue them."——They
 had about twelve Negroes who willingly
 drowned themselves; others starved them-
 selves to death.——Philips was advised
 to cut off the legs and arms of some to ter-
 rify the rest, (as other Captains had done)
 but this he refused to do: From the time of
 his taking the Negroes on board too his ar-
 rival at Barbadoes, no less than three hun-
 dred and twenty died of various diseases.*

Reader

* The following relation is inserted at the request of the
 Author,

THAT I may contribute all in my power towards
 the Good of Mankind, by inspiring any indi-
 viduals with a suitable abhorrence of that detestable
 practice of trading in our fellow-creatures, and in
 some measure atone for my neglect of duty as a
 Christian, in engaging in that wicked traffic, I offer
 to their serious consideration some few occurrences
 of which I was an eye-witness. That being brought
 with the wretches and affecting scene they may for-
 get that inhuman principle, which is the sole and
 unrelenting cause of this traffic, and the
 ruin of their children's children.

Reader, bring the matter home to thy own heart, and consider whether any situation can be more completely miserable than that of these

About the year 1749, I sailed from *Liverpool* to the coast of *Guinea*: Some time after our arrival I was ordered to go up the country a considerable distance; upon having notice from one of the Negro Kings, that he had a parcel of slaves to dispose of; I received my instructions, and went, carrying with me an account of such goods we had on board to exchange for the slaves we intended to purchase. Upon being introduced, I presented him with a small case of *English* spirits, a gun, and some trinkets, which having accepted, and understood by an Interpreter what goods we had, the next day was appointed for viewing the slaves; we found about two hundred confined in one place. How here how shall I relate the affecting sight I there beheld! How can I sufficiently describe the silent sorrow which appeared in the countenance of the afflicted father, and the painful anguish of the tender mother, expecting to be forever separated from their tender offspring; the distressed maid wringing her hands in presage of her future wretchedness, and the generality of the innocent from a fearful apprehension of the perpetual slavery to which they were doomed! Under a sense of my offence to God, in the person of his creatures; I acknowledge I purchased eleven, who I conducted tyed, two and two to the ship. Being but a small vessel, (ninety ton) we soon purchased our cargo, consisting of one hundred and seventy slaves; whom thou may'st Reader range in thy view as they were shackled two and two together, pent up within the narrow confines of the main deck, with the complicated

these distressed captives. When we reflect that each individual of this number had probably some tender attachment, which was broken by this cruel separation; some parent or wife who had not an opportunity of joining in a parting embrace; per-
haps

somewhat distressed of sickness, chains and contumpts; deprived of every fond and social tie, and in a great measure reduced to a state of desperation. We had not been some days at sea, before the fatal consequence of our despair appeared; they formed a design of recovering their natural right, LIBERTY, by rising and murdering every man on board, but the goodness of the Almighty rendered their scheme abortive, and his mercy spared us to have time to repent. The plot was discovered; the Ringleader ty'd by the two thumbs over the barricade door, at sun-rise received a number of lashes, in this situation he remained till sun-set, exposed to the insults and barbarity of the brutal crew of sailors, with full leave to exercise their cruelty at pleasure. The consequence of this was, that next morning the miserable sufferer was found dead, head from the shoulders to the waist. The next victim was a youth, who, from too strong a sense of his rights, refused nourishment, and died; disregarded and unnoticed, till the hogs had fed on part of his flesh. We must blush at this impious sacrilege. May the relation of it serve to call back the generous feelings of humanity, in the hearts of those who from a love of wealth, partake in any degree of our oppressive gain, and have such an effect on the minds of the sincere, as may be productive of peace, the fruits of true repentance for past transgressions, and a resolution to renounce all connexion with it for the time to come.

haps some infants, or aged parents, whom his labour was to feed, and vigilance protect; themselves under the most dreadful apprehension of an unknown perpetual slavery; confined within the narrow limits of a vessel, where often several hundred lie as close as possible: Under these aggravated distresses, they are often reduced to a state of despair, in which many have been frequently killed and some deliberately put to death under the greatest torture, when they have attempted to rise in order to free themselves from present misery and the slavery designed them. Many accounts of this nature might be mentioned, indeed from the vast number of vessels employed in the trade, and the repeated relations in the public prints of Negroes rising on board the vessels from Guinea, its more than probable that many such instances occur every year. I shall only mention one example of this kind, by which the reader may judge of the rest; its in Astley's Collection 2 vol. p. 449, related by John Atkins, surgeon on board Admiral Ogle's Squadron, of one *Harding*, master of a vessel in which several of the men slaves and a woman slave had attempted to rise, in order to recover their liberty; some of whom the master, of his own authority, sentenced to cruel death, making them first eat the flesh

and liver of one of those he had killed.
 “ The woman he hoisted by the thumbs,
 “ whipped and flayed with knives before
 “ the other slaves till she died.”* As de-
 testable

A memorable instance of some of the dreadful effects of the slave-trade, happened about five years past, on a ship from this port, then at anchor about three miles from shore, near Acra Fort, on the coast of Guinea. They had purchased between four and five hundred Negroes, and were ready to sail for the West-Indies. It is customary on board those vessels to keep the men shackled two by two, each by one leg to a small iron bar; these are every day brought on the deck, for the benefit of air, and lest they should attempt to recover their freedom, they are made fast to two common chains, which are extended on each side the main deck: The women and children are loose. This was the situation of the slaves on board this vessel, when it took fire, by means of a person who was drawing spirits by the light of a lamp; the cask bursting, the fire spread with so much violence, that in about ten minutes, the sailors apprehending it impossible to extinguish it, before it could reach a large quantity of powder they had on board, concluded it necessary to cast themselves into the sea, as the only chance of saving their lives; and first, they endeavoured to loose the chains by which the Negro men were fastened to the deck, but in the confusion the key being missing, they had but just time to loose one of the chains by wrenching the staple; when the vehemence of the fire so increased, that they all, but one man, jumped over board, when immediately the fire having gained the powder, the vessel blew up with all the slaves who remained fast, and to the one chain, and such

testable and shocking as this may appear, to such whose hearts are not yet hardened by the practice of that cruelty, which the love of wealth by degrees introduceth into the human mind; it will not be strange to those who have been concerned or employed in the trade.

Now here arises a necessary query to those who hold the balance of justice, and who must be accountable to God for the use they have made of it; that as the principles on which the British constitution is founded, are so favourable to the common rights of mankind, how it has happened that the laws which countenance this iniquitous traffic, have obtained the sanction of the legislature; and that the executive part of the government should so long shut their ears to continual

Each others as had not followed the sailors examples. There happened to be three Portuguese vessels in sight, who, with others from the shore, putting out their boats, took up about two hundred and fifty of those poor souls who remained alive; of which number about fifty died on shore, being mostly of those who were fettered together by iron shackles, which as they jumped into the sea, had broke their legs, and these fractures being inflamed, by so long a struggle in the sea probably mortified, which occasioned the death of every one that was so wounded. The two hundred remaining alive, were soon disposed of, for account of the owners to other purchasers.

sinual reports of the barbarities perpetrated against this unhappy people, and leave the trading subjects at liberty to trample on the most precious rights of others, even without a rebuke. Why are the masters of vessels thus suffered to be the sovereign arbiters of the lives of the miserable Negroes, and allowed with impunity, thus to destroy (may I not properly say *to murder*) their fellow creatures, and that by means so cruel, as cannot be even related but with shame and horror?

C H A P. XIII.

Usage of the Negroes, when they arrive in the West-Indies. An hundred thousand Negroes brought from Guinea every year to the English Colonies. The number of Negroes who die in the passage and seasoning. These are, properly speaking, murdered by the prosecution of this infamous traffic: Remarks on its dreadful effects and tendency.

W H E N the vessels arrive at their destined port in the colonies, the poor Negroes are to be disposed off to the planters, and here they are again exposed naked, without any distinction of sexes, to the brutal examination of their purchasers; and this, it may well be judged, is to many another occasion of deep distress. Add to this, that near connections must now again be separated to go with their several purchasers; this must be deeply affecting to all, but such whose hearts are seared by the love of gain. Mothers are seen hanging over their daughters, bedewing their naked breasts with tears, and daughters clinging to their pa-

rents, not knowing what no village of distress must follow their separation, or whether they shall ever meet again. And here what sympathy! What commiseration do they meet with! Why, indeed, if they will not separate as readily as their owners think proper, the Whipper is called for, and the lash is exercised upon their naked bodies, till obliged to part. Can any human heart, which is not become callous by the practice of such cruelties, be unconcerned, even at the relation of such grievous affliction, to which this oppressed part of our species are subjected.

In a book printed in Liverpool, called, *The Liverpool Memorandum*, which contains amongst other things, an account of the trade of that port, there is an exact list of the vessels employed in the Guinea trade, and of the number of slaves imported in each vessel; by which it appears, that in the year 1753, the number imported to America by one hundred and one vessels belonging to that port, amounted to upwards of thirty thousand, and from the number of vessels employed by the African company, in London and Bristol, we may, with some degree of certainty, conclude, there are one hundred thousand Negroes purchased and brought on board our ships yearly from the coast of Africa. This is confirmed by Ander-

son's history of Trade and Commerce, lately
 printed, where it is said, "that Eng-
 land supplies her American colonies with
 Negro-slaves, amounting in number to
 above one hundred thousand every year."
 When the vessels are full freighted with
 slaves, they sail for our plantations in Ame-
 rica, and may be two or three months in the
 voyage, during which time, from the filth
 and stench that is among them, dysenteries
 frequently break out, which carry off com-
 monly a fifth, a fourth, yea sometimes a
 third or more of them: so that taking all the
 slaves together, that are brought on board
 our ships yearly, one may reasonably sup-
 pose that at least ten thousand of them die on
 the voyage. And in a printed account of
 the state of the Negroes, in our plantations,
 it is supposed that a fourth part more or less
 die at the different islands, in what is called
 the seasoning. Hence it may be presumed,
 that at a moderate computation of the slaves
 who are purchased by our African mer-
 chants in a year, near thirty thousand die
 upon the voyage and in the seasoning. Add
 to this, the prodigious number who are
 killed in the incursions and intestine wars,
 by which the Negroes procure the number
 of slaves wanted to load the vessels. How

Awful

dreadful then is this ~~operation~~, whereby
 so many thousands of our fellow creatures,
 free by nature, and endued with the same rati-
 onal faculties, and called to be heirs of the
 same salvation with us, lose their lives; and
 are truly and properly speaking murdered
 every year; for it is not necessary in order
 to convict a man of murder, to make it ap-
 pear, that he had an intention to commit
 murder. Whoever does, by unjust force or
 violence, deprive another of his liberty, and
 while he hath him in his power, continues
 so to oppress him, by cruel treatment as
 eventually to occasion his death, is actually
 guilty of murder. It is enough to make
 a thoughtful person tremble, to think what
 a load of guilt lies upon our nation on this
 account, and that the blood of thousands of
 poor innocent creatures murdered every
 year in the prosecution of this wicked trade,
 cries aloud to Heaven for vengeance. Were
 we to hear or read of a nation that destroyed
 every year, in some other way, as many
 human creatures as perish in this trade, we
 should certainly consider them as a very
 bloody barbarous people. If it be alleged,
 that the legislature hath encouraged and
 still does encourage this trade, it is answer-
 ed, that no legislature on earth, can alter the
 nature of things, so as to make that to be
 right which is contrary to the law of God.

the supreme ruler and governor of the world, and oppose the obligation of the gospel of peace on every good will to man. Injustice may be legalized and established by law, but still it will be injustice as much as it was before, though its being so established, may render men more insensible of the guilt, and more bold and secure in the perpetration of it.

C H A P. XIV.

Observations on the disposition and capacity of the Negroes: Why thought inferior to that of the Whites: affecting instances of the slavery of the Negroes. Reflections thereon.

DOUBTS may arise in the minds of some, whether the foregoing accounts relating to the natural capacity and good disposition of the inhabitants of Guinea, and of the violent manner in which they are said to be torn from their native land, is to be depended upon or; as the Negroes

Negroes, who are brought to us, are not heard to complain, nor do but seldom manifest such impatience and quickness of parts, as is agreed on hereto. But those who make these objections, are desired to note the many discouragements the poor Africans labour under when brought from their native land. Let them consider, that those afflicted strangers, though in an *enlightened Christian country*, have yet but little opportunity or encouragement to exert and improve their natural talents; They are constantly employed in servile labour, and the abject condition in which we see them, naturally raises an idea of a superiority in ourselves; whence we are apt to look upon them as an ignorant and contemptible part of mankind. Add to this, that they meet with very little encouragement of freely conversing with such of the Whites, as might impart instruction to them. It is a fondness for wealth, for authority or honour which prompts most men, in their endeavours to excel; but these motives can have little influence upon the minds of the Negroes; few of them having any reasonable prospect of any other than a state of slavery; so that, though their natural capacities were ever so good, they have neither encouragement or opportunity to exert them to advantage: This naturally tends to depress their minds, and sink their spirits into

bits of idleness and sloth, which they would, in a likelihood, have been free from, had they stood upon an equal footing with the white people. They are suffered, with impunity, to cohabit together, without being married, and to part, when solemnly engaged to one another as man and wife; notwithstanding the moral and religious laws of the land, strictly prohibiting such practices. This naturally tends to beget apprehension in the most thoughtful of those people, that we look upon them as a lower race, not worthy of the same care, nor liable to the same rewards and punishments as ourselves. Nevertheless it may with truth be said, that both amongst those who have obtained their freedom, and those who remain in servitude, some have manifested a strong sagacity and an exemplary uprightness of heart. If this hath not been generally the case with them, is it a matter of surprize? Have we not reason to make the same complaint of many white servants, when discharged from our service, though many of them have had much greater opportunities of knowledge and improvement than the blacks; who even, when free, labour under the same difficulties as before, having but little access to, and intercourse with the most reputable white people; they remain confined within their former limits

of conversation. And if they seldom complain of the unjust and cruel usage they have received in being forced from their native country, &c. it is not to be wondered at; it being a considerable time after their arrival amongst us, before they can speak our language; and, by the time they are able to express themselves, they have great reason to believe, that little or no notice would be taken of their complaints, yet let any person enquire of those who were capable of reflection before they were brought from their native land, and he will hear such affecting relations, which, if not lost to the common feelings of humanity, will sensibly affect his heart. The case of a poor Negroe, not long since brought from Guinea, is a recent instance of this kind. From his first arrival, he appeared thoughtful and dejected, frequently dropping tears when taking notice of his master's children, the cause of which was not known till he was able to speak English, when the account he gave of himself was, " That he had a wife and children in his own country; that some of these being sick and thirsty, he went, in the night time, to fetch water at a spring, where he was violently seized and carried away by persons, who lay in wait to catch men, from whence he was transported to America. The remembrance of his family friends

" friends and other connections, left behind,
 " which he never expected to see any more,
 " were the principal cause of his dejection
 " and grief." Many cases equally affecting
 might be here mentioned, but one more in-
 stance which fell under the notice of a per-
 son of credit will suffice. One of these wretch-
 ed creatures, then about 50 years of age,
 informed him, " That being violently torn
 " from a wife and several children in Gui-
 " nea, he was sold in Jamaica, where never
 " expecting to see his native land or family
 " any more, he joined himself to a Negro
 " woman, by whom he had two children;
 " after some years, it suiting the interest
 " of his owner to remove him, he was se-
 " parated from this second wife and child-
 " ren, and brought to South-Carolina,
 " where, expecting to spend the remainder
 " of his days, he engaged with a third wife,
 " by whom he had another child; but here
 " the same consequence of one man being
 " subject to the will and pleasure of another
 " man occurring, he was separated from
 " this last wife and child, and brought in-
 " to this country, where he remained a slave."

Can any, whose mind is not rendered quite
 obdurate by the love of wealth, hear these
 relations, without being deeply touched
 with sympathy and sorrow; and doubt-
 less the case of many, very many of these af-

flicted

flicted people, upon enquiry would be found
 to be attended with circumstances equally
 tragical and aggravating. And, if we en-
 quire of those Negroes who were brought
 away from their native country when child-
 ren, we shall find most of them to have been
 stolen away when abroad from their pa-
 rents, on the roads, in the woods, or watch-
 ing their corn-fields. Now, you that have
 studied the book of conscience, and you
 that are learned in the law, what will you
 say to such deplorable cases. When, and
 how have these oppressed people forfeited
 their liberty? Does not justice loudly call
 for its being restored to them? Have they
 not the same right to demand it as any of us
 should have, if we had been violently snatch-
 ed by Pyrates from our native land? Is it
 not the duty of every dispenser of justice,
 who is not forgetful of his own humanity,
 to remember, that these are men, and to de-
 clare them free? Where instances of such
 cruelty frequently occur, and are neither
 enquired into, nor redressed by those whose
 duty it is, to seek judgment, and relieve the op-
 pressed, *Isaiah i. 17.* What can be expected
 but that the groans and cries of these suffer-
 ers will reach Heaven, and what shall we do
 when God riseth up and when he visiteth? What
 will ye answer him? Did not he that made
 them, make us; and did not one fashion us in
 the womb. *Job xxxi. 14.*

C H A P. XIV.

The Expediency of a general freedom being granted to the Negroes considered. *Reasons why it might be productive of advantage and safety to the Colonist.*

IT is scarce to be doubted, but that the foregoing accounts will beget in the heart of the considerate readers, an earnest desire to see a stop put to this complicated evil, but the objection with many is, What shall be done with those Negroes already imported and born in our families? Must they be sent to Africa? That would be to expose them in a strange land to greater difficulties than many of them labour under at present. To set them suddenly free here, would be, perhaps, attended with no less difficulty; or undisciplined as they are in religion and virtue, they might give a loose to those evil habits, which the fear of a master would have restrained. These are objections which weigh with many well disposed people, and it must be granted there are difficulties in the way; nor can any general

change be made or reformation effected without some; but the difficulties are not so great but that they may be surmounted. If the government was so considerate of the iniquity and danger attending on this practice as to be willing to seek a remedy, doubts, the Almighty would bless this good intention, and such methods would be thought of, as would not only put an end to the unjust oppression of the Negroes, but might bring them under regulations that would enable them to become profitable members of society. For the furtherance of which, the following proposals are offered to consideration: That all farther importation of slaves be absolutely prohibited; and as to those born amongst us, after serving so long as may appear to be equitable, let them by law be declared free. Let every one thus set free, be enrolled in the county courts, and be obliged to be a resident during a certain number of years within the said county, under the care of the overseers of the poor. Thus being, in some sort, still under the direction of governors and the notice of those who were formerly acquainted with them, they would be obliged to act the more circumspectly, and make proper use of their liberty, and their child-

they would have an opportunity of obtaining
 such instruction as is necessary to the com-
 mon occasions of life, and thus both parents
 and children might gradually become useful
 members of the community. And further,
 where the nature of the country would per-
 mit, as certainly the uncultivated condition
 of our southern and most western colonies
 easily would: suppose a small tract of land
 were assigned to every Negro family, and
 they obliged to live upon and improve it
 (when not hired out to work for the white
 people) this would encourage them to exert
 their abilities and become industrious sub-
 jects. Hence both planters and tradesmen
 would be plentifully supplied with cheerful
 and willing minded labourers, much vacant
 land would be cultivated; the produce of
 the country be justly increased; the taxes
 for the support of government lessened to
 individuals by the increase of taxables. And
 the Negroes, instead of being an object of
 Terror*, as they certainly must be to the go-
 vernments

* The hard usage the Negroes meet with in the
 plantations, and the great disproportion between them
 and the white people, will always be a just cause of
 terror. In Jamaica and some parts of South-Caroli-
 na, it is supposed that there are fifteen blacks to one
 white.

vernments where their numbers are great, would become interested in their safety and welfare.

CHAP. XV.

Answer to a mistaken opinion, that the warmth of the climate in the West-Indies will not permit white people to labour there. No complaint of disability in the whites in that respect in the settlement of the islands. Idleness and diseases prevailed at the use of slaves increased. The great advantage which might accrue to the British nation, if the slave trade were entirely laid aside, and a fair and free commerce established throughout the whole coast of Africa.

It is frequently offered as an argument in justification of the use of Negroe slaves, that the warmth of the climate in the West-Indies will not permit white people to labour in the culture of the land; but, upon acquaintance with the nature of the climate, and its effects upon such labouring white

white people as are prudent and moderate in labour and the use of spirituous liquors, this will be found to be a mistaken opinion. Those islands were, at first, wholly cultivated by white men; the encouragement they then met with for a long course of years was such as occasioned a great encrease of people. Richard Ligon, in his history of Barbadoes, where he resided from the year 1647 to 1650, about 24 years after its first settlement; writes, " that there was then
 " fifty thousand souls on that island, be-
 " sides Negroes; and that though the wea-
 " ther was very hot, yet not so scalding,
 " but that servants, both Christians and
 " slaves laboured ten hours a day." By other accounts we gather, that the white people have since decreased to less than one half the number which was there at that time; and by relations of the first settlements of the other islands, we do not meet with any complaints of unfitness in the white people for labour there, before slaves were introduced. The island of Hispaniola, which is one of the largest of those islands, was at first planted by the Buccaneers, a set of hardy laborious men, who continued so for a long course of years, till following the example of their neighbours in the purchase and use of Negroe Slaves, idleness and excess prevailing, debility and disease natural-
 ly

ly succeeded, and have ever since continued. If, under proper regulations, liberty was proclaimed through the colonies, the Negroes, from a dangerous grudging half-fed slaves, might become able willing minded Labourers. And if there was not a sufficient number of these to do the necessary work, a competent number of labouring people might be procured from Europe, which affords numbers of poor distressed objects, who, if not overlooked, with proper usage, might, in several respects, better answer every good purpose in performing the necessary labour in the islands than the slaves now do.

A farther considerable advantage might accrue to the British nation in general, if the slave trade was laid aside, by the cultivation of a fair, friendly and humane commerce with the Africans, without which it is not possible the inland trade of that country should ever be extended to the degree it is capable of; for while the spirit of butchery and making slaves of each other is promoted by the Europeans amongst the Negroes, no mutual confidence can take place; nor will the Europeans be able to travel with safety into the heart of their country to form and cement such commercial friendships and alliances as might be necessary to introduce the arts and sciences amongst

amongst them, and engage their attention to instruction in the principles of the Christian religion, which is the only sure foundation of every social virtue. Africa has about ten thousand miles of sea-coast, and extends in depth near three thousand miles from east to west, and as much from north to south; stored with vast treasures of materials necessary for the trade and manufactures of Great-Britain, and from its climate and the fruitfulness of its soil, capable, under proper management, of producing, in the greatest plenty, most of the commodities which are imported into Europe from those parts of America subject to the English Government,* and as in return they would take our manufactures, the advantages of this trade would soon become so great, that it is evident this subject merits the regard and attention of the government,

* See note page, 109.